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THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

FOURTH SERIES—VOL. II.—(XXXII).—MAY, 1905.—No. 5.

BLESSED NOTKER'S ALLELUIATIC SEQUENCE.

THIS is in the form of a canticle calling on all created nature to join in the Divine acclamation, and so commencing *Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc Alleluia!* Written at the end of the ninth century, or the beginning of the tenth, the period usually identified with the darkest of the so-called Dark Ages, this noble canticle voices the universal spirit of its refrain with a concentrated force of thought and perfection of verbal expression equalled by no lyrical utterance of the kind, as far as I know, in any tongue outside the Hebrew psalms. The subject is not only an interesting one, but deserves for various reasons special attention.

In the first place, it is an excellent specimen of a body of sacred lyrics almost wholly forgotten, at least in English-speaking countries; furthermore, it possesses a wholly distinctive character from a liturgical point of view; but above all it is a piece of work remarkable for the rare perfection of its lyrical *technique*—having, of course, regard to what might be called the lyrical *mentality* of the age in which it was written. In these days of superficial thinking, and consequently careless, slovenly writing, it is well for us from time to time to note the careful diction of the early whole-souled monastic compositions. There are, moreover, accidental items of special interest for us connected with the life and character of the author of this canticle, and with the history of his house at the time he wrote it.

In his *Medieval Hymns*, Dr. Neale assumes the piece to have been written by Godescalchus. Apparently, on the authority of

this *en passant* ascription, some more recent writers have made the same statement, which is certainly erroneous. The piece is one of the numerous sequences composed by the first celebrated writer—some say even the originator—of this form of lyrical composition, Blessed Notker of Saint Gall's, the monastery in German Switzerland which was founded by one of the Irish-born companions of S. Columbanus, and long remained one of Europe's chief schools of high-class hymnody. Not only do the recognized modern authorities on mediæval sequences, such as Daniel, Kehrein, and Chevalier in his *Repertorium Hymnologicum*,¹ but also Brander (1507), perhaps our best ancient authority on such a subject, and himself a monk of St. Gall's, unhesitatingly ascribe the sequence to Blessed Notker.

On the Continent the piece is indifferently known as *The Alleluatic Sequence*, or *Notker's Canticle*.

Owing to a slight stuttering, its author was called Balbulus by his contemporaries, after the sobriquet-giving custom of the day, probably also to distinguish him from others of the same name. In liturgical collections and biographical notices, he is generally called Saint Notker. He was, indeed, beatified by Pope Julius II, in 1573, and an office in his honor used to be celebrated in St. Gall's. It appears, however, that he was never formally canonized, although he is universally recognized as a saintly character. He refused various offers of ecclesiastical preferment outside his monastery, and discharged many important offices in it. In its annals, he is given for 890 as librarian, and for 892 and 894 as guestmaster (*hospitarius*), offices for which the same individual is rarely well fitted, but for both of which the convent's chronicle gives us to understand that he was perfectly suited; being a person of pleasing manners, of unstudied yet graceful bearing, of gentle speech and of a bright, joyous nature, easily pleased and anxious

¹ The sub-title of this work is "Catalogue des Chants, Hymnes, Proses, Sequences, Tropes, en usage dans l'Église depuis les origines jusqu' à nos jours : extrait des *Analecta Bollandiana*. Imprimerie Lefebvre, Louvain, 1892." Our Sequence is thus noted: *Cantemus cuncti Melodum nunc Alleluia*.—In laudibus Sabb. ante Septuages. (Domin.): *Notkerus Balbulus*. There is then given for printed reference the fullest list of authorities I have seen on the subject. The alleged doubts upon which some would ascribe the piece to Godescalchus appear to be all of a purely negative character.

to please all about him; altogether, it would seem, a man possessing a singularly lovable personality.²

He commenced writing his famous sequences about 862, and in 882 collected all (up to then written) into a volume under the title of *Liber Sequentiarum Notkeri*. In the preface he suggests that he first took to writing them as mnemonics for existing Alleluiatic *pneumes*; those wordless cantata, lately composed in a variety of modes for the choir and people to sing forth the final *a* of the Alleluia chanted between the Epistle and Gospel. The idea of doing something of the kind occurred to him, he says, while quite young, when vexed with the difficulty he experienced as a chorister in remembering the notes of these complicated series of musical phrases, in which he was expected to join: as he himself prettily puts it: "quum adhuc juvenculus essem et melodiae saepius mnemonice commendatae instabile corculum aufugerent, coepi tacitus mecum volvere quonam modo eas potuerim colligere."³ He often afterwards spoke upon the subject to others. Once, having had some discussion with a friend in regard to it, he was shown a *pneume* with words adapted to the music but merely as mnemonics. Upon this he decided to write words that should serve not merely as mnemonics for the music, but words that should

² More than a century after Notker's death Ekkhard (IV) in his *Casus Sancti Galli* recalls his memory in affectionate terms. He was, the chronicler says in the original text, "corpore non animo gracilis; voce non spiritu balbulus; in divinis erectus, in adversis patiens, ad omnia mitis; in nostratium acer erat exactor discipulinis. Ad repentina et inopinata timidulus erat, praeter daemones infestantes quibus se audenter opponere solebat. In orando, legendo, dictando, erat creberrimus. Et, ut omnes sanctitatis ejus complectar dotes, Sancti Spiritus erat vasculum quo suo tempore abundantius nullum." In addition to that *Casus S. Galli*, by Ekkhard IV (d. 1060), and numerous incidental references by mediæval writers, our principal ancient MS. source of information is *Vita Sancti Notkeri*, by Ekkhard V (1220). This detailed life (in six chapters) is given in Goldast's *Rerum Alamman. Scriptores aliquod vetusti* (Francof. 1661), being there printed from the St. Gall MSS. It was also printed with the *Processus Canonizationis ex MS. editus*, by D. Canisius. With that and some excellent preliminary and marginal notes, it will be found in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, for April 6, p. 576. Among modern biographical notices, the latest, fullest, and most critically written I know of, is *Lebensbild des heiligen Notker von S. Gallen*, by C. Meyer von Kronan, Zurich, 1877.

³ The text of that preface is given in Daniel (copied from the MSS. preserved at St. Gall's). It is also given in Pezzi's *Thesaurus*, at the head of the series of Notkerian sequences, which he prints as "sung at Mass." Part of it is printed in Dr. Neale's Preface to his *Sequentiae ex Missalibus Medii Aevi*, London, 1863.

embody sacred thoughts breathing the spirit of the feast or season for which the musical *pneume* had been composed. These lyric expressions of sacred thought might thus be made to serve a further liturgical purpose than merely to fill out the interval between the Epistle and Gospel at Mass. In this way began and, with the judicious revision of Marcellus, the Convent's *Magister Choralis*, gradually grew the long list of Notkerian sequences. Contemporary authorities appear to have fully recognized the high order of learning, spiritual insight, and lyrical genius, as well as liturgical value, which a later age assigned to these compositions.⁴

Even outside Germany, during their author's lifetime, these sequences were employed for a variety of liturgical purposes. The Alleluistic sequence, which immediately concerns us here, was, it is said, originally known as "The Deposition of Alleluia" at Lauds on the eve of Septuagesima Sunday; hence its special theme of hymning forth the mystic acclaim's everlastingness and universality throughout creation. But it was sung at other times also. Brander, in his *Book of Sequences* (1507), represents it as sung "especially during the octave of the Epiphany," meaning, no doubt, in his time and country, as a song of praise and thanksgiving for the showing forth of the Light of the World.

The text slightly varies in the different ancient MSS. still extant. Among them is one of the eleventh century, of which copies are to be found in the British Museum and at St. Gall's. It is printed in most of the collections of mediæval hymns (such

⁴ "Praecipuam laudem S. Notkerus Balbulus retulit a Sequentiario de quo agitur C. 4 Vitae: cujus occasione, ibidem refertur, ab Innocentio III Sanctorum honoribus dignus pronuntiatus, licet San-gallenses eatenus de illo sicut pro alio defuncto egissent." Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, VI Aprilis, p. 578. Now, Innocent III (1198-1216), who so admired B. Notker's sequences, was not only one of the most learned men of his age, but also an expert in the matter of sacred song.

The Rev. I. Mearn (Glasgow University), the assistant editor of Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, writes: "Notker's sequences are remarkable for their majesty and noble elevation of tone, their earnestness and their devoutness. They display a profound knowledge of Holy Scripture in its plainer and more recondite interpretations and a firm grasp and definite exposition of the eternal truths of the Christian faith. The style is clear and the language easily comprehensible; so that, whether he is paraphrasing the Gospel for the day, or setting forth the leading ideas of the Church's festivals, or is engaged in vivid and sympathetic word painting, he is at once pleasing and accurate."

as Mone's, Daniel's, Kehrein's), and in some recent liturgical anthologies. The method of printing it, as is occasionally done in short prose phrases, like the translations of the Hebrew psalms in our Latin and English Bibles, is rather objectionable, since it takes away the rhythmic effect which gives to such compositions a sort of lyrical life. The better way of printing it is in the short irregular lines of the original *Troparium* to suit the musical phrases of the *pneume* for which it was written.

Its language—Latin, like that of all Blessed Notker's sequences—is remarkably pure for the period and eminently tuneful. Although there are no regular rhyme endings, nor any fixed form of metre, in accordance with its special purpose as a prose or sequence for the music of an Alleluiatic *pneume*, one feels the rhythmic beat of every line, with the distinctive character of each phrase. Take as an example the *sacrum septenarium* of the opening—*Cantémus cuncti mélodum nunc Al'lelúia!* Although there is, as already stated, no rhyme in the now received sense of the term, an ear accustomed to lyrical analysis may throughout detect varying forms of that regulated assonance which at the time of its composition took the place of rhyme, and to which the ears of early mediæval writers were peculiarly sensitive. Note, for instance, the consonantal sequence and related vowel assonance of these two verses (3 and 4) corresponding to successive musical phrases:—

“Hoc beatorum | per prata paradisiaca | psallat concentus : Alleluia !
Quin et astrorum | micantia luminaria | jubilent altum : Alleluia !”

The distinctive character of this Alleluiatic song is that of hymning forth the universal rather than the merely Paschal spirit of its refrain. To this end its opening line is invitatory, giving the motive or tone-thought of the whole. What follows may be taken for that thought's natural evolution, in so far as such would be the expression of universal sympathy and clear mental vision. In this evolution of the tone-thought we recognize a power of artistic self-utterance not often found even in such compositions. There is the pure verbal music of the well chosen words, the flowing melody and continuous harmony of the phrasing, and, above all, there is the true artist's choice of tinted terms to exhibit the varying shades of thought and feeling proper to each

fresh presentation of the fundamental theme. For instance, to express the thought of "singing" the word changes from phrase to phrase, as the thought's varying shades require. Thus successively we met *cantans*, *concinnens*, *dulci-sonans*, *jubilans*, *psallens*, *pangens*, all expressing in different forms the sense of *Pange lingua*. The same is true for other varying modes of expression. We have no terms in modern speech to express with like effect the delicate shades of meaning implied in these words, although the purely lyrical qualities of the Alleluiatic sequence afford special facilities for effectively translating it into English rhythm. As a matter of fact, there are several recent renderings of it in English. The first, and perhaps most widely known is Dr. Neale's.⁵

The translator seeks as far as possible to reproduce in his terms the original's shades of thought, and has admirably succeeded in his effort to suit the lines and verses to its varying musical forms. This seems particularly true of the way in which he has caught up the spirit of lyrical transitions from mode to mode, even changing his metre, or modifying its aural impression as the successive measures of the original required. Thus, after his rendering of the opening passages calling on "the people" (*plebs*) to join in the praises of "the Eternal King," in harmony with the Angelic Choirs (*coelestes chori qui cantant in altum*) and that of the Blessed through the fields of Paradise (*beatorum per prata paradisiaca*), he reproduces the stately measure of the call upon the heavenly hosts to give glory:—

"Ye planets glittering on your heavenly way,
Ye shining constellations, join and say:
Alleluia!"

Then, quickening his measure, he takes up the Hymn's breezy course through the terrestrial forms of creation, first those of inanimate nature:—

⁵ With reference to the general body of the Notkerian sequences, we read in Julian's *Dictionary*: "The only *literal* version which has attained to any popularity in English is Dr. Neale's translation of No. 56, *Cantemus cuncti*. Referring to that himself in the Preface to his second edition of *Medieval Hymns* (1863), Dr. Neale says: 'Every sentence, I had almost said every word, of the version was carefully fitted to the (original) music: the length of the lines corresponds to the length of each *troparion* in the original.'" The writer in the *Dictionary* adds: "it has passed into almost every hymnal published since that date (1863)."

“ Ye clouds that onward sweep,
 Ye winds on pinion's light,
 Ye thunders loud and deep,
 Ye lightnings wildly bright,
 In sweet consent unite
 Your Alleluia !”

Then with Nature's quickening sense of change, the measure still more quickly flows :—

“ Ye floods and ocean billows,
 Ye storms and winter snow,
 Ye days of cloudless beauty,
 Hoar frost and summer glow,
 Ye groves that wave in Spring,
 And glorious forests, sing :
 Alleluia !”

Again the measure changes with the call for the ordered song of living beings :—

“ First let the birds with painted plumage gay
 Exalt their great Creator's praise and say ;
 Alleluia !
 Then let the beasts of Earth with varying strain
 Join in Creation's Hymn and cry again :
 Alleluia !”

Thereupon comes another and slower measure to meet the thought of Earth's own song, changing in form to suit its term-thoughts as the call proceeds :—

“ Here let the mountains thunder forth sonorous :
 Alleluia !
 There let the valleys sing in gentler chorus :
 Alleluia !
 Thou jubilant abyss of Ocean cry :
 Alleluia !
 Ye tracts and continents reply :
 Alleluia !”

Finally comes its appropriate measure for the universal synthesis :—

“ To God who all creation made
 The frequent Hymn be duly paid :
 Alleluia, Alleluia !”

The reader notes how the version's measure changes to suit the final liturgical applications of the original. The conclusion is

in various ways characteristic. First, it suggests the character of the choir for which the sequence was meant, as being a choir composed of men (*vos, o socii, cantate*) and little boys (*vos, pueruli, respondete*), at times joined by the people present (*omnes*—as at the beginning *plebs*). Here are the concluding lines, printed in the order of the ancient *Troparium*, the first of each verse being as a rubric's direction :—

“ Nunc omnes canite simul :

Alleluia Domino,

Alleluia Christo,

Pneumatique Alleluia.

Laus Trinitati Eternæ :

Alleluia—Alleluia,

Alleluia—Alleluia,

Alleluia—Alleluia ! ”

Mark the archaic sequence: *Domino, Christo, Pneumatique*, the third term being the Greek form for *Spirituique*. Then note the trine synthetic acclaim for *finale* with its echoing responses, no doubt, for the *pueruli* and *plebs*. This is after the manner of the ancient Jewish “ Allel,” when “ at the pause, the servants of the Temple with the choir of Levites and the assembled multitudes broke forth into solemn Alleluias,” by way of approving acclaim.

As a preliminary note to his version of the whole in the second edition of *Mediæval Hymns* Dr. Neale writes: “ It was first translated by me for the hymnal noted,—copied thence into the Sarum Hymnal, and Hymns Ancient and Modern, and Chope's Hymnal, and, miserably inferior as it is to the original, seems thus to have obtained great popularity. But, most unhappily, those hymnals ignored the glorious melody, contemporaneous with the sequence.⁶ For the first time since the words were written, they were cramped, tortured, tamed down to a chant, the very kind of music for which the original sense and the English words are least

⁶ This “ contemporaneous melody ” is said to be now “ practically unknown.” But it is given, with the traditional adaptation of the Latin words, in Dr. Neale's own *Sequentiæ ex Missalibus Medii Aevi*, London, 1863. In a footnote to his text, Mone refers to it as given in the Stuttgart Breviary *mit der Melodie*. There is, I know, a highly prized MSS. at St. Gall's, apparently written in the tenth century, and containing music of *pneumes* without words.

adapted.⁷ It is said that the original melody is difficult. I can only reply that I have frequently heard it sung by a choir of children of ages varying from four to fourteen, and never more prettily than when, without accompaniment, it was sung in the open fields.

Now, by whom was this "glorious melody" composed, assuming it to be "contemporaneous" with the words of the Sequence? One would suppose that, with other *pneumes* to which Notkerian sequences were adapted, it was composed by Marcellus, the head-master of St. Gall's Musical School at the time—that time being precisely the period of its greatest European repute as a school of sacred music and song.⁸ Indeed, in the course of some remarks as preface to the metrical version of another of Blessed Notker's sequences (there acknowledged as his), Dr. Neale distinctly notes the part that, as what he calls "Precentor on the *decani* side," Marcellus took in arranging for choir use the first sequences which Notker had composed. He omits to say that, after having been satisfied with the alterations made according to his suggestions in the words of the two first, which he was asked to examine, Marcellus caused these to be transcribed on rolls for practice by his pupils; and so in effect originated their liturgical use.⁹ Nor does Dr. Neale mention the interesting fact that this man with the Latin name of Marcellus was an Irishman.¹⁰ He was originally called Moengul. "Afterwards," writes Blessed Notker's ancient biographer, "he was called Marcellus by our people (*nostris*) by way of diminutive

⁷ He refers to Troybe's Chant, to which his words are set in the Anglican Hymnal entitled *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (see last edition, London, 1904). The setting there is for men's and boys' voices: parts in unison and parts in harmony. Of course, the original (Latin) words should be sung to the original melody. But it seems to me that for popular, church, school, or sacred concert, use, the arrangement of the English version presented in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* is excellent of its kind and ought to prove very easily learned and effective.

⁸ St. Gallen was one of the most famous seats of learning in Europe, from the eighth to the tenth century. B. Notker died in 912.

⁹ "Quos versiculos cum Magistro meo Marcello praesentarem, ille gaudio meo repletus, in rotulas eas congegessit et pueris cantandos aliis alios insinuavit." (From B. Notker's *Praefatio in Librum Sequentiarum*.)

¹⁰ "Receptus hic (Notkerus) admodum puer in monasterium illud est sub Grimaldo Abbate, post an. 841, et primum . . . , deinde 'Marcelli Hiberni' disciplinae commissus."

from the name of his uncle, which was Marcus." Having accompanied this Marcus, an Irish bishop, on his journey to Rome, on the way back he called at St. Gall's, and was induced to stay there—first, it would appear, as teacher of the then complicated art of hymnody,¹¹ and, subsequently, also of other branches of "the liberal arts," as then understood.¹²

Was he a distinguished layman at the time, or, was he, like St. Gall himself, of the class still so familiar to far-off lands of Saxon speech, a young priest from Ireland? There are no annals to tell us. Little even is known of the subsequent life of Marcellus at St. Gall's, beyond the fact that he remained there a considerable time, became master of the higher, "inner" or claustral, school (that of the convent's scholasticate), and was ultimately succeeded in that position by B. Notker himself.¹³ But from various references we know that he was a man highly esteemed for his learning and general culture as well as for his musical skill. "He was a man," wrote Ekkhard of him in the thirteenth century, "most learned in divine and human erudition."¹⁴

¹¹ Sicut terrae arenti serotinum imbrem, quo infundatur ut germinet, mittit; ita mox quemdam Episcopum Scottigenam, nomine Marcum, Dominus misit ad cellam Sancti Galli. Qui rediens a Roma, repatriare volens, Gallum tanquam compatriotam suum visitat: cui comitabatur filius sororis, Moengal nomine: postea a nostris diminutive a Marco avunculo ejus est vocatus. (Ekkhard: *Vita S. Notkeri*, Cap. II.)

¹² See *Vita Sancti Notkeri*, by Ekkhard, in the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*, VI Aprilis, p. 577.

¹³ "Huic (Marcello) in magisterio scholae claustralis successit." Bollandist, *l. c.*

¹⁴ "Hic (Marcellus) erat in divinis et humanis scripturis eruditissimus, cujus doctrinis beati viri Notkeri sitibundum cor refocillatum est." As to his teaching, we read in the next paragraph—"Praesidente Marcello, mentes discipulorum, Notkeri, Raperti, Tutilonis, aliorumque, septem liberalium artium scientiae ad plene imbuunt. Musicae autem jucundissimae arti diligentius hi tres prae caeteris animum apposuerunt, sed prae omnibus Notkerus." Ekkhard's *Vita S. Notkeri*. Cap. II,—"S. Notkeri et sociorum sub Marcello magistro profectus."

From the next paragraph of Ekkhard's MS., we learn that the principal subject for the exercise of the "jocundissima ars" in St. Gall at the time was *Cantus Gregorianus* cujus "modulationis dulcedinem, inter alias Europae gentes, Germani seu Galli sive Alemanni discere crebrius potuerunt; incorruptam vero, tam levitate animi qua nonnulli de proprio Gregorianis cantibus miscuerunt, quam feritate quoque naturali, minime servavere." In face of all this it is pleasant to note "quantum vir Domini Notkerus cum sociis (sub Marcello magistro) in arte musica profecerit." (Par. 12.) Thus it may be said that the "Solesmes" of a thousand years ago was the Monastery of St. Gall, when Blessed Notker wrote there and its head-master—"magister scholae claustralis"—was *Moengal*, alias *Marcellus Hibernus*.

The thought here suggests itself: what must, at that period, have been the state of learning and general culture among a people from whose country came this youth, the casual travelling companion of "his uncle on a journey to Rome"? There is much room here still for research. The history of Blessed Notker, of the school of St. Gall, and its highly accomplished young Irish "master," during this the period of its greatest renown, furnishes ample material for a study the result of which would no doubt throw considerable light on the state of learning, literature, spiritual life, and artistic culture of Ireland, and that during a period commonly spoken of as the "Dark Ages." On the united memory of Marcellus and Notker, I confess, I have dwelt with special pleasure, as being throughout so suggestive of union in thought and deed between German and Irish Catholics. They labored together for the furtherance of the great cause of our holy religion.

In conclusion. I would recall the epitaph which Notker's grateful fellow-countrymen inscribed upon his tomb:

"Ecce decus patriae Notkerus, dogma sophiae,
Ut mortalis homo conditur hoc tumulo.
Idibus octonis hic carne solutus Aprilis,
Caelis invehitur, carmine suscipitur."¹⁵

The anniversary of his death occurs in April. One cannot at this time suppress the wish that, as after so many years the title of "Beda Venerabilis" was changed into "Saint" Bede, so the "Blessed" of Notker's name may yet be changed into "Saint." As we have seen, he was so long popularly called "Saint," and is so called in the ancient life of him printed in our *Acta Sanctorum*. Perchance the revival of that "*dulcedo modulationis Cantus Gregoriani*," for which he and his master, "Marcellus Hibernus," did so much in their day, will prompt a more special interest in this direction. Blessed Notker's canonization would give to all lovers of the dear old chant a new motive in the Paschal time for singing "Alleluia!"

T. I. O'MAHONY.

All Hallows, Dublin.

¹⁵ Given as "Epitaphium ad ejus tumulum" at the end of Ekkhard's *Vita S. Notkeri*, as printed in Goldast's work; and also as printed in the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*.

MARY AND THE CHURCH MILITANT.

Religious Life Drawn from the Life of Mary.

ACTIVE; CONTEMPLATIVE; MIXED.

IN the earthly life of Our Lady we see the model of all states, natural and supernatural, that can be followed by her children. In the first place we observe the active, contemplative, and mixed lives, which regard men and women equally; and, in the second place, as regards womankind, the Virgin, the Mother, and the Spouse.

With regard to these several states, the singular perfection of Our Lady's life consists in that she exercised herself in all the virtues peculiar to each, at one and the same time. Activity in her case caused no cessation of contemplation, since her soul never lost sight of the habitual presence in herself of the Holy Trinity; but moved in it as in a brilliant atmosphere of purest light, and saw in that light all that the eternal Father required of her to do; nor was she ever drawn out of her own centre, by any attraction to the activities of life, for their own sake.

At the same time, contemplation and its inexhaustible delights did not cause her to overlook the importance of perfection in the performance of the most trivial action. It was in fact the moving principle in all action, since her greatest pleasure was to do the Will of God. She therefore observed the mixed state in union with the two other states, with the same perfection as she observed each state in itself.

The same observation may be made of her womanhood. As Virgin she was Immaculate; as Mother she was unparalleled in her purity; as Spouse, in comparison of all others, she was the lily among thorns (Cant. 2: 2); therefore in all she has been our model, upon which model the various states in, as well as out of, religion have been founded and regulated.

The Christian charities contained in the doctrine of Jesus, and the simple grandeur of that doctrine as He taught it to the people, were all centered in Mary as His living exemplar; and He intended that her life should be the model of His Church's life. Now a very little consideration will point out to us that it has been so;

and that in every departure of those prismatic rays of light which have taken place in the bosom of the Church, our Blessed Lady has been the celestial orb whence they have proceeded, as Wisdom says of her: "I made that in the heavens should rise light that never faileth, and as a cloud I covered all the earth; my throne is in the pillar of a cloud" (Eccl. 24: 6, 7).

We have traced in a measure, according to our power, the footprints of Our Lady as she followed in those of her Divine Son; teaching and developing the spirit of prayer on the great lines of the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist; and also the Faith of the Church, as symbolized in her Creeds, and epitomized in the Lord's Prayer. We have seen that prayer in the essence and substance of her appointed coöperation in the Church's system; and that whatever she undertakes, it is for the purpose of strengthening and enlarging its influence, until she has reached down to the very humblest and weakest of her children. Now all this has to do with the activities of prayer, which, in the institution of the holy Rosary, she has marvellously combined with the spirit of contemplation.

We now turn to the contemplative side of Our Lady's life—the one most interior and prized by her; and we see what she has done to cultivate it in the vineyard which with the Beloved she tends, in the character of the sacred Spouse. "Come," saith she, "come, my Beloved, let us go forth into the field; let us abide in the villages; let us go up early into the vineyard; let us see if the vineyards flourish; if the flowers be ready to bring forth fruits" (Cant. 7: 13).

Created charity as a divine influence, and the counterpart of the uncreated Love of God as an essential virtue in human nature, was unknown before the coming of Christ. We may assume from the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles that this was the first fruits of the Gospel teaching. For instance, we are told that "all they that believed were together, and had all things in common; their possessions and goods they sold and divided them to all, according as every one had need" (Acts 2: 44, 45); and, in Acts 4: 32: "And the multitude of believers had one heart and soul." Deacons were created and ordained for the purpose of the charitable distribution amongst the poor of the alms of the rich

(Acts 6: 1);—again as an example of private and personal charity, we have the touching story of Tabitha, or Dorcas, as she is called, whom St. Peter raised to life at the sight of the weeping poor around her corpse (Acts 9: 36–42). Also in the Epistles we learn the same lesson, “that he who loveth God, must love his brother also.” This indeed is the great doctrine of St. John, the Beloved Disciple, who is the mouthpiece of the Sacred Heart and of the Mother of Jesus. The corporal works of mercy were then the first stepping-stones to the more perfect life, that of contemplative prayer.

There were two great stimulants to the life of solitary contemplation in the deserts of Egypt, Arabia, and Syria. One was the overwhelming sense of the moral degradation in which heathendom lay, and out of which the convert to Christianity was desirous to flee. The other was persecution. Both were powerful agents in Our Lady’s hands for developing the most perfect forms of contemplation, and of thereby establishing and building up schools containing sublime examples, which would last to the world’s end.

These schools of the desert found their way into Europe in the form of religious orders. Each, as it would seem, being crowned with a distinguishing grace, every one of which was included in that grace of which Our Lady is declared to be full.¹

In all religious orders, whether of men or of women, the first distinguishing mark is that of purity. For this reason did Our Lady draw the young virgins of either sex, and, as we read in the Book of Canticles, they ran after the odor of her ointments, of which purity was the chief. She chose the pure and the loving; she obtained for them the grace of vocation to the virgin life; and

¹ The following examples as they present themselves to the writer’s mind, may explain what is meant. The Benedictine Order, for instance, may be said to bear the note of a great but holy liberty of spirit; the Carthusian, that of the spirit of penance; the Trappist, of mortification; the Cistercian, of recollection. These are among the contemplative Orders. Of the active Orders we note:—those of “ransoming captives” under the title of Our Lady of Mercy, which speak for themselves; the Franciscan, noted for the grace of simplicity; the Dominican, of zeal for souls; and of the Company of Jesus the distinguishing mark may be described as “unquestioning obedience.” Each order, as a rule, partakes of the spirit of its founder. And as Mary was the perfection of grace, so we may trace to her the distinguishing gift with which she adorned the several families of her devoted children.

she formed them into serried ranks, and fed them with celestial food, teaching them how to please and to live alone for Jesus. She fought for and with them against their deadly enemies; comforted them; came to them, and was constantly seen by their dying beds, ready to take them home and conduct them to the Feet of Jesus! For this purpose she had taught them how to pray, and to offer themselves as she had done, so as to fill the soul of the Church with her own immortal spirit of prayer; and in this manner was the Kingdom in very truth begun on earth, and His Will was done in the same spirit of glad obedience as it was done by the angels in Heaven.

It was in this way, as time went on, that the whole world, wherever the Gospel was preached, was filled with the incense of Mary's prayer—of her spirit, her love, her obedience, and her matchless purity. Hidden in the cloister, whether in deserts or in caves, in forests or on the hillsides, in valleys or in cities, the troops of her children ran out of the world in order to flee from its snares, its follies, its inanities, and its unrealities, to find rest, peace, and spiritual growth in a calm, pure, obedient, and mortified life, full of good works, and full of prayer; in short, to find God; to live in God; to think of God alone and to praise Him worthily, as she had done. And amongst them, as in a garden of delights, Our Lady with her Divine Son loved to come, to visit, to edify, and to perfect them; building them up in the simplicity of faith and in the adoration of Jesus. Thus her life became repeated in millions of lives. In them, her prayer continued uninterruptedly: "Thy Kingdom come! Thy Will be done!"—and will so continue until the consummation of all.

For this it was that Mary took pains, so to speak, in the foundation of her religious orders, whether of men or of women; for, after the formation of the priesthood and the hierarchy, and the sacramental system of the Church, which was our Lord's own office—the bulwarks and the walls of the celestial city were raised up by the religious orders. When the world was steeped in ignorance, and manners were rude and rough, and wars were apparently necessary for the purification and solidification of society,—and when the Church herself, in order to raise up saints and martyrs out of lawless multitudes, put a merit on religious

warfare, and raised up the Cross as the Standard under which they might at least die for the Faith which they would have lived to abuse!—even so, calmly and peacefully uprose the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem. All this took place amid the chants and the psalms, the offices and the disciplines, and the holy monotonies of the cloistered life, among learned Fathers, humble lay brethren, and spotless maidens, whose prayer and whose praise was the very fire which Jesus Himself had yearned to kindle.

But family life was not discounted by Mary. This had also a work to do. And so in the Church's history we meet with holy men and women in the midst of the tumults of earthly prosperity bringing up their families in the fear and love of God, and in a just valuation of the worth of life. We find childless spouses offering all they have to God for a child whom they may dedicate to Him. We find our Blessed Lady watching over kings and queens, drawing them by the cords of love into the arms of purity and sanctity, even in the midst of their courts and the duties of their royal state. On almost all the work of Mary is the mark of the Virgin; for even in married life this mark takes a shape of its own. This wonderful mark has the power to sanctify the spouse and to bring forth virgins for the sanctuaries of Jesus and Mary.

SHRINES AND PILGRIMAGES.

We have seen how, in the power of prayer, Our Lady from the beginning, wrought with her Divine Son in the foundation of the Church. It is this power which, wielded as she wields it, in perfect union with the Divine Will and Intention, contains the mystic force called impetration, which obtains all and performs all that it desires. We have next considered how she wrought through the ages of persecution, amid the diabolical contest with the principdoms of heathendom, through the tumultuous birth-throes of an unformed society; and we have seen that none of these things was able to hinder either the progress of the Church through her sacramental graces, or the action and force of the prayer which Mary taught,—the first being the mystical cords of Divine Love, and the second, the mystical cords of supplicating desire.

Mary is the point of meeting between the faithful and the

eternal purpose of her Son, in the same sense that she is the point of union between God and mankind.

This will be seen to explain all and much more than we know of the activities of Our Lady in the edification of the Church, being, as she is, the appointed soul of that prayer and prayerful spirit which are absolutely necessary to enable the created soul of man to enter into communion with the uncreated spirit of the Will of God. "Draw nigh to me and I shall draw nigh to you" is the teaching of God Himself. The Sacraments unite by means of prayer,—the prayer of desire; and thus prayer is the link which forms the end of the mystic chain which draws the creature toward the Creator.

The world is now at peace; the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of Christ. The imperial city of Rome has changed her imperial rulers. The Mistress of the world is become the centre of Christian unity, the central point of a universal Christian empire.

What is now the work of Mary? It is a very simple one. Europe is Christian, and Christianity belongs, above all, to the people: these multitudes have to be elevated, sanctified; multitudes in bodily and spiritual need of the loving care of the Mother. Divine offices and liturgies do not make a part of their daily life. Holy Mass itself does not come within the reach of all. Grace has to be humbly prayed for, and the masses, immersed in their painful laborious life, even if they know how to pray, do not pray as they might. They have to be approached and reached by means at once sensible and spiritual; natural, yet supernatural. So Mary comes to them. She is to be found everywhere; her presence is felt, known, and acknowledged; and by means of these poor ignorant multitudes she raises fresh bulwarks—none stronger perhaps—of the faith among the peasantry of the vast provinces and kingdoms of mid-Europe.

Many waters cannot quench charity; neither can the floods drown it; and Mary is the Queen of Charity. What, indeed, amongst these teeming populations of various nationalities—not infrequently hostile to one another—lies beyond the tender touch of Mary? Yet how delicately, how simply it is offered. In some

forest, perchance, she causes her image—in many cases a miraculous one—to be discovered. She bides her time. At intervals, one by one, the shepherd or the poor laborer, or a forest hunter passes by and venerates it. A miracle ensues. In one case, a serving man, the forest ranger of his lord, who has never passed her by without acknowledging the presence of the Mother of Sorrows, becomes the victim of an accident, and blindness ensues. Alone in his poor cabin, helpless and suffering, he thinks of that little image, neglected and uncared for, and his heart is touched with a sense of loving confidence. He feels certain of her pity! Now who has lit up that spark of unsought confidence? Whence comes the mystic touch of accredited sympathy? He does not ask the question, but engages a little child to lead him to that spot: a lovely spot it is, where the brook babbles endlessly at the feet of Mary! Thither he comes, and at Mary's humble little shrine he weeps. His faith is rewarded, for he rises from his knees—*seeing!* His first look of gratitude falls upon the image of the desolate Mother with the dead Christ in her arms.

Such is the legend clinging round a beautiful shrine in a peaceful valley on the Rhine which to this day draws its pilgrim thousands from the country about to Our Lady's feet; and the quiet, richly decorated church, and its monastery of Franciscan Fathers, attest to centuries of graces, spiritual and temporal, received there at her motherly hands.

This is only one out of hundreds of similar spots, chosen and hallowed by Our Lady as a meeting-place for her children. They are to be found all over France, Germany, Austria, Bavaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Italy, and Spain, and there was indeed a time, in those ages of faith, as they are rightly called, when their presence marked now Protestant England as the Dowry of Mary. They were then, as they are now, the pledges of the faith, and the hope, and the charity which are the uniting graces of the Catholic Church. Planted not infrequently on the borderland of different and occasionally of antagonistic races, they draw men, women, and children from all sides into one bond of peace and charity by the hands of Blessed Mary—toward the Sacred Heart of Jesus! The solitary desert blossoms as a rose! Wherever most needed, sanctuaries arise mysteriously, unasked

for, in the midst of scattered populations; and wherever the sanctuary becomes a pilgrimage, there rises the chapel, and later on the church, dedicated to Mary, and the people are drawn by hundreds and by thousands into the Church's embrace. The religious order and the priest appear; the ministrations of the Church are found in abundance, for the Church corresponds to Mary's untiring activities, and blesses these pilgrimages from her storehouse of indulgences and benedictions; the Sacraments of reconciliation and of Communion are there; and miracles of healing, both of soul and body, render the sanctuary famous; and all this takes place, not in cities, not in villages even, but on the mountain side, on the hill-top, or in the sequestered valley; drawing the people without sound of words, sweetly but irresistibly, out of their surroundings into the peace-loving solitudes of nature and the mystic harmonies of silence. Yes, there it is that Mary speaks to her children, and that the hearts of the children reëcho; they understand, they love, they run to her; and return home with hearts purified and lightened; blessing and praising God.

Yet, in multiplying pilgrimages to her shrines—her *Gnaden Orte*, as they are simply called in Germany—Our Lady was not creating a new form of devotion in order to supply the spiritual necessities of man; any more than, when giving the Rosary with its fifteen decades consecrated to the mysteries of the Incarnation, she invented a new form of prayer. In both cases she made use of customs already in employ, and applied them with the most far-reaching results.

The thoughtful soul will readily appreciate in the Great Pilgrimage of the Children of Israel, when they left the land of Egypt to seek the Land of Promise and of benediction, a fore-running sign of the mystic movements of the emancipated soul in the search after grace. The world must be left behind with its unsanctified cares; she must journey over rough roads toward the place appointed. Regardless of the rigors of the way, she must, through the midst of the wildernesses of life, turn her face ever toward it until she reach it. For to that goal, with full faith in it, she must sigh and strive hard to come, for it is only there that she will find her sanctuary of rest and of prayer, the abundance of grace and the blessing of God.

There is another reflection with regard to pilgrimages, which brings us back to Mary, the Mother of Jesus. It is this: pilgrimages had been a part of her life as an obedience to the Law of God; and she, whose habits on earth partook of a kind of immortality, seems in her glory to love to reproduce a reminiscence of those pilgrimages to the Temple, and that feast of the Passover to which she had gone so constantly in the sweet company of Jesus and of her holy Spouse. The meaning of those pilgrimages she understood, and the value of their centralizing tendency. Jerusalem was the centre of grace for the Jews, and the mystic Jerusalem, signified by each of the shrines of Mary's electing, became in the same way a central meeting-place for the scattered members of the mystic Body of Christ. Therefore she fixes upon a place of pilgrimage, where her Temple of Jerusalem is repeated, and where she who is the Queen of Heaven itself, all but visibly reigns as a very Queen; drawing round her personality the homage and the faith of the people, together with their miseries, their aspirations, their joys, and their griefs; their hopes and their regrets, their vows, their penitence, their penance and their pardons, the while she showers on all sides the wealth of God's gifts and graces which are given her to distribute.

Who may appreciate the wonderful victories gained over sin and the armies of hell in this way? Miracles of healing are but the figure and earnest of the spiritual strength which lies wrapt up in the faith thus fostered by Mary's wisdom. And who is there who would wish to deny the fact which supports indeed the rest, that in all these marvellous works she is but the handmaiden of the Lord,—albeit she is none the less the Mother of Jesus!

E. M. SHAPCOTE.

THE EASTER SEPULCHRE.

(Concluded.)

ADORNMENT.

The size, material, and adornment of these chests or closets of wood would depend upon the position of the church for which they were provided. Early in the sixteenth century a new sepulchre was made for St. Lawrence's, Reading, at the consider-

able sum for those days, of £4 13s. 10d. In 1549, a sepulchre with its frame for tapers annexed, was sold for xxd., a new one being made in 1561, at an outlay of xxvjs. viijd. On the other hand a sepulchre for the city church of St. Andrew Hubbard, East Cheap, was obtained at the low price of viijs. iiijd. A parish collection probably secured what was necessary. At Yatton, Somerset (1446-7), the accounts contain this entry: "I yreseived of the parasche to the sepulcur clare xvijjs. vd."

The ornamentation of these sepulchres consisted principally of painting and gilding. William Astyn (will dated 1522), after directing the window over the sepulchre in Yalding Church, Kent, to be "dampned" and a blind arch made over the same sepulchre, continues: "the wudwarke of the same sepulture to be made according to good wurmanship and afterwarde to be gilded with the Resurrexion of our Lorde."⁵¹ Twenty shillings were similarly bequeathed by John Absolon, in 1538, "to the giltyng of the sepulchre" of Cuxton Church, Kent, which he "wold be payntynd & gilytyd before the feaste of Eastre."⁵²

Occasionally entries appear of iron or iron gere in relation to the sepulchre:

1477-8. SALISBURY: St. Edmund's

"yregere (iron gere) to the Sepulcure of newe bought xiijs. iiijd."

which may infer that they were banded with iron ornamental work in the same way as the cope-chests which have come down to us. In some instances the sepulchres were provided with locks:

DARTFORD: Kent. "in clavis pro sepulcro."

1553-4. SALISBURY: St. Edmund's, "staplls and lockes for the Sepulcer."

Reference has been made to the making, in 1554, of the new sepulchre for St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London. As the entry differs somewhat from those usually appearing in the accounts I

⁵¹ Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 25. Maynwaryng.

⁵² Will Register (ix, 268), Consistory Court of Rochester (now at Somerset House).

quote it again: "a fframe for the sepulture and for the Judas Cross and for the Pascall & cordes, Platters, ffrynge & oth' necessities aboute the same." I say the entry is curious, because it would seem that the Judas Cross or Tenebræ Herse and the Paschal Candle were all of a piece—*en suite*—with the sepulchre. Similar entries in other parish accounts suggested this idea; for example, in the year 1555 the churchwardens of St. Michael's, Cornhill, London, paid "the Joyenour for makinge the sepullere, the Pascall, and the Tenebras *to the same*." And again as late as March, 1566, there was remaining in the old revestry of Lincoln Minster, "one alterstone (black), a sepulcre, a (brass) crosse for candelles called Judas crosse, and other Furniture *belonging to the same sepulcre*, the pascall with the Images in Fote *belonging to the same sepulcre* and a candlesticke of wodde."⁵³ There was also "one precious cloth to laye upon the altare,"⁵⁴ and one for the sepulcre wrought with Images."⁵⁵

These chests and their appurtenances would have to be brought out and furbished up ready for the Easter ceremonial, and afterwards taken down and carefully put away.⁵⁶ In the year 1513, the accounts of St. Lawrence's, Reading, show a payment made for "settyng upp the frame aboute the sepulcre," and in the year following occurs an entry of vd. for ale to the carpenters who removed the sepulchre. The entry in the St. Margaret's, Westminster, accounts (1520) is unique:—"For setting up of God's house and taking it down again."⁵⁷ 1520, at St. Nicholas Bristol, xd. was paid to the "Clerkes to sett uppe the sepulcur," and a like amount in 1530. At St. Peter's, Sheffield, it was called the "Sepulchre house," and 7d. was paid for "setting up of the Resurrection." At Eltham, Kent, in 1554, iiijd. was paid for setting up

⁵³ From the fragment in the Bishops' Registry in Alnwick's Tower. See *Lincoln Inventories*, p. 81.

⁵⁴ 1517. Reading, St. Lawrence, Inventory: "Making the resurrecyon play ijd" and the ornaments belonging to the "Sepulchre awlter in the same church."

⁵⁵ TOULMIN SMITH: *Guilds*.

⁵⁶ 1516. LONDON: St. Mary Hill, "In part for a chest to lay the sepulchre in."

⁵⁷ In the *Townly Mysteries*, Jacob in his Vision says:—

"And now is here none othere gate
But God's Howse and hevens yate."

the sepulchre, and the same amount for taking it down again.⁵⁸ At Ludlow (1557), a man was employed for three days in setting up the sepulchre at a charge of xvjd.

In connection with the setting up of Sepulchres, a number of miscellaneous items appear in the church accounts. Payments for "small pynnes," "nailes," "greate tackes," "tacketts,"⁵⁹ "wires and glue," "Cordes to the sepulchre," "whipcord to draw the curtain," "pack thread," "sylke poynts," "pyne clotes," also appear. The "pynnes" were probably wooden pegs. At Salisbury (St. Edmund's) they were purchased at penny a hundred:—

1510-11. SALISBURY: St. Edmund's (*churchwardens' accounts*) 'jd. pro jc. Splintr' pro sepulcro domini hoc A^o empt'."

1517-18. "for a c. pynnes for the Sepulture, jd."

In not a few instances the entries in the Church accounts relating to the construction of sepulchres refer to making, setting up, or mending the "frame of the sepulchre," or to a "sepulchre with a frame," or to the "frame about the sepulchre."

Although in some cases this "frame" may have reference to the sepulchre chest itself, it undoubtedly refers to the support or stand upon which the chest itself was raised, or within which it was enclosed. The actual depository of the Cross and Host and Cross being a coped chest or coffin. This being set upon a bier was surrounded by a herse or other frame for candles and hangings, in every way identical with the burial customs of the time.⁶⁰ As has been shown, upon the dispersal of the church furniture at Stallingbrock, Lincolnshire, the Easter sepulchre was actually used as a "bear" [bier] "to carie the dead corps" to burial.

In some cases the church accounts show that the frame or bier not only sustained the sepulchre chest, but was utilized as a support for lights.

Neale, in the second volume of the *Views of the Most Interest-*

⁵⁸ LYONS: *Environs of London*, vol. iv, p. 415.

⁵⁹ *Durham Rolls* (p. 728) Sacristan's expenses for 1547 "in tacketts (tacks to fix up drapery) to sett vp ye sepulcre, jd."

⁶⁰ "Item, for the setting up and framyng of my lorde's hers, as . . . appereth by bill therof maid, iiij s. ijd. For nallis to the same ijd." Divers expenses made for the burial of Thomas Savage, Archbishop of York, 14th September, 23 Henry VII—*Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. iv, p. 321.

ing Churches, dealing with Long Melford Church, Suffolk, and quoting from a Post-Reformation MS. of Sir Roger Martin, of Melford Place, describes such a timber sepulchre and frame as its author remembered it before the Reform. "In the quire," he writes, "was a fair painted frame of timber to be set up about Maundy Thursday, with holes for a number of fair tapers to stand in before the sepulchre, and to be lighted in service time." In pre-Reformation times the sepulchre "finely garnished" had, it appears, been set in the usual place upon a tomb—the richly canopied and niched⁶¹ altar tomb of John Clopton, Esquire, of Kentwell Hall, who died in 1497—at the north end of the high altar, the said frame with the tapers placed near to the steps going up to the altar. "But latterly," he continues, "it was wont to be set up along Mr. Clopton's aisle (chapel), with a door made to go out of the rood-loft into it."

This "latterly," would be in the reign of Mary, when it may have been found necessary to place the Blessed Sacrament beyond the reach of advocates of the "New Religion." Nevertheless there was at St. Lawrence's, Reading, a "Sepulchre Altar," in the "loft over the chancell crosses," where the sepulchre light also stood, in 1498.⁶² A loft for the sepulchre light was made in 1516, at an outlay of ijs. ijd. and was probably the same "frame on which the sepulchre light did stand" which was taken down with the rood loft and sold to Master Butler in 1562.

The erection of whatever may have constituted the sepulchre having been accomplished, the next great business was to "dress" it. In the year 1553-4, the churchwardens of St. Edmund's, Salisbury, paid Robert Martin "viijd." for thus "dressing" the sepulchre, and two years later (1556-7), entered in their accounts the sum of "ijd." as disbursed for "drynke for them that dyd dresse the sepulker." The wardens of Ludlow in the previous year (1555-6), paid Thomas Season "xijd." for dressing the sepulchre in that church.

This dressing or garnishing was accomplished by means of hangings and curtains, tapestries, painted clothes and banners,

⁶¹ Once filled with statues of the Twelve Apostles.

⁶² KERRY: *Account of the Sepulchre Altar, St. Lawrence's, Reading, Anno 1498.*

which were hung upon or around it: a further embellishment, we may well believe, being provided in garlands of evergreens and Spring flowers, so abundant at this season of the year. From the inventories of church goods we gather that these hangings were often of rich and costly materials—cloth of gold and Baudekyn, silk, sarcenet, chamblett, and velvet—tapestries and clothes, stained and needle-painted with sacred story. A few examples will suffice:

Circa 1214-22. Salisbury Cathedral. (Treasurer's Inventory.⁶³)

"*Item*, velum unum de serico supra sepulchrum."

1470. LONDON: St. Margaret Pattens. (*Churchwardens' Accounts.*)

"*Item*, a Grete Cloth of Tapestri werke for to hang upon the wall by hynde the Sepulcur."

"*Item*, a Cloth of Sepulcur werke w^t the Resurrection, the Passyon and w^t other werkis."

1472. SALISBURY: St. Edmund's. (*Churchwardens' Accounts.*)

"*It* ij palles of cloth of goolde for the sepulcre with a shete of Raynes."

1485. SOUTHWARK: St. Margaret. (*Churchwardens' Accounts.*)

"*Item*, a lytyll Cortyn of grene sylke for the hede of the sepulture."

"*Item*, iij steyned Clothys with the Passyon and the Resurecyon to hang about the sepulture on good fryday."

1498. READING: St. Lawrence. (*Churchwardens' Accounts.*)

"*Item*, a sepulcre cloth of right Crymson satten imbrowded w^t Image w^t a frontaill of pays conteyng in length iiij yards w^t ij cloths of lawnde for the sepulcre."

"1517. 'Awlt' cloth of crymson and tawny veluet embroyed w^t fflo's of gold, and for the nether p^te of the same crymson saten and cloth of bawdekyn for the sepulcr awlter."

1512. FAVERSHAM:

"one sepulchre cloth of red-stained linen."

Under the date 1527, the church accounts of the City of London Church of St. Mary-at-Hill, have a payment, of "vs." for painting and renewing the images in the sepulchre cloth, and among the

⁶³ WORDSWORTH, CHRISTOPHER: *Salisbury*. Ceremonies and Processions, Cambr., 1901, p. 173.

"Clothes for the Sepulchre," at St. Peter's, Cornhill, in 1546, were several stained clothes of varying richness of ornamentation : "A Crucifix, Mary and John, with a scripture ; a Crucifix, Mary, John spotted with blood with the Holy Ghost over His head ; two angels and two scriptures ; and another embroidered with divers arms." There was also a white cloth of the burying of our Lord with images of the three Marys.⁶⁴ Three red frontlets and another of gold silk fringed and two crosse staves of timber gold and silver," seem to have made up the canopy:

In the lesser churches the sepulchre clothes were less sumptuous :

6. Edward VI. KENT : Lewisham.

"iij sepulcre clothes of lynnyn."

"one cloth of the same of sylke."

At Maidstone the King's Commissioners inventoried "ix peces of garnishing whych served to the sepulchre some be smale and all be narro"; and at Wilmington, a "sepulcre cloth of whit sylke lyned with lynnyn cloth."⁶⁵

In some instances a canopy was suspended over the sepulchre, palls thrown over the coffer itself, and banners, pennons, and streamers attached to the erection as with the tombs of the illustrious dead :

1431. LONDON : St. Peter Cheap. (*Churchwardens' Accounts.*)

"Item, j canapysteined with iij staves and iiij boles of golde and iiij faynes (vanes?) and j cloth for the sepulcre steynede."⁶⁶

Wills of the period give us other instances : Elizabeth Hatfield of Hedon, York, widow, bequeathed (will dated May 19, 1509), to her parish church :

⁶⁴ At Westminster, among the Lent Stuff, c. 1540 a Sepulchre cloth was "steined" with the Trinity ; two at All Hallows, Bristol (The Calendars, Wardens' Book, 1395), with "four knights and Mary Magdalen" (*Bristol, Past and Present*, ii, 106).

⁶⁵ A very usual "Sepulchre" adornment was a bare cross of plain wood (not crucifix) with a winding sheet draped about it. The traveller will have noticed these in Northern Italy.

⁶⁶ In the earliest account of the sepulchre yet met with (1214), mention is made of "velum unum de serico supra sepulchrum."

“j ares (arras) bed, ea intentione quod quolibet anno die obitus mei cooperuerit super sepulchrum meum et mariti mei, et ad ornamentum sepulcri Domini tempore Paschali et Sacramenti, dum valet et durabit.”⁶⁷

To the same end Cecily Leppington, of Beverley, York, widow (will dated December 12, 1526), gives to the church of St. Mary in Beverley:

“her best over-see [Continental—over-the-sea work] bed called the Baptist as an ornament to the sepulcre of oure Saviour Christe Jhesu at the fest of Ester.”⁶⁸

In the Inventory taken of the Goods of the Abbey of Westminster at the Dissolution by Henry VIII of Religious houses, appears:

“a greate cove of bedde called a sepulchre cloth of nedle work.”⁶⁹

It will be readily seen that these handsome bequests were nothing less than the canopies and hangings *complete* of the tester—beds so highly prized in those days, and, judging from the descriptions given of them in the Wills of noblemen and the Inventories of their goods, they were beautiful and often splendid examples of the embroiderer's craft.

These canopies were supported by beams of cordes:

1457. LONDON: St. Michael, Cornhill. (Churchwardens' Accounts.)

“*Item*, payd to Rote for ij whippes (ropes running over pulleys?) iiij^d.”

1509 (December 22d): Bill of John Copley, of Batley, York.

“To on vyse makyng on Estur daie in the mornyng to the sepulcre, iij^s iiij^d.”⁷⁰

1557. BRISTOL: Christ Church.

“For a small corde to stay y^e canabye over y^e sepulcre.”

In the 37th year of Henry VI, a “batyment” (battlement) was bought for the now destroyed church of St. Ewen, Bristol, “to hang a cloth on y^e sepulchre in the chancel, ix^d ob.”

⁶⁷ *Testamenta Eboracensia* (Reg. Test. viii, 11-12), vol. v, p. 1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* (Reg. Test. ix, 377), vol. v, p. 224.

⁶⁹ At St. George's, Windsor (1384-5) “*unus pannus de blodio serico radiato ponderato cum diversis avibus et floribus pro celetura sepulchri Domine.*” DUGDALE, *Mon. Angl.*, vi. *Durham Rites* tells us that at the burial of a monk of that house his bed of blue saye was held above his grave and became the perquisite of the barber.

⁷⁰ *Testamenta Eboracensia* [Reg. Test. viii, 28a and 230b], vol. v. p. 11.

The banners and pennons mentioned among other adornments were probably suspended from some similar arrangement. At Faversham, Kent, in 1512, thirty-seven small banner cloths of silk were provided for the Easter Sepulchre and the Paschal. In the year 1543, "vijs" was paid at St. Nicholas', Bristol, "to fyngall ffor hys hondy worke to ley the gold apō viij Smale streme'ys ffor the Sepulker," a further vjd being expended "ffor viij sperys ffor the flags."⁷¹ The Church Accounts of St. Mary-at-Hill, London (5. Henry VI), tell us that "bokeram" was used for the pennons there, xxij^d being paid for the material and the making; the "betyng" (beating with gold) and "steynynge" costing "vjs."⁷²

In 1536, Sir Edward Nicoll gave a sepulchre cloth, stained, costing v^s j^d to lay *upon* the sepulchre in Morebath Church, Somerset.⁷³ This was quite in accord with the prevalent practice of covering the tombs of the great and noble with palls of price, one, two, or more being presented at the time of the Requiem Mass.⁷⁴

A cloth of silk, the inventory taken at Braborne, Kent, in the third year of King Edward VI, tells us, "was used to be laid upon the sepulchre." As late as 1565 there was at Wing, Bucks, "a pavlle for Sepulcher of branchyde worke." At Eltham, Kent, the Commissioners, 6. Edward VI, found "j sepulcre with painted cloths to cover the same." "Item lego," says the will of John de Ledes, Rector of Methley, York, "duo tapeta rubea dictae ecclesiae meae, pro reparacione sepulchri in die parascues."⁷⁵

An entry under the date 1485, in St. Margaret's, Southwark, Church accounts, gives an instance of the sepulchre being enclosed with curtains:

"Item, ij blew Cortyns (to) draw afore the sepulture."

⁷¹ ATCHLEY: *Some Principles and Services of the Prayer Book Historically Considered*.

⁷² The "banners and pendaunts," attached to the herse of Thomas Savage, Archbishop of York, who was buried 14th September, 23. Henry VII, were of sarcenet, painted. *Test. Ebor.*, vol. iv, p. 321.

⁷³ HOBHOUSE: (Bishop), *Somerset Churchwardens' Accounts*. (Somerset Record Society.)

⁷⁴ Down to the time of the Reformation tombs remained so palled. Cnut's queen gave one woven with peacocks to cover the tomb of Edmund Ironside at Glastonbury.

⁷⁵ *Test. Ebor.* (H. f. 105b), i, p. 106.

Entries of lawn also appear: "ij cloths of lawnde for the Sepulchre." In the 31st year of King Henry VI, the Churchwardens of St. Margaret's, Southwark, paid five shillings for "lawne for the Sepulchre," and again entered in 1485 an item, "ij Cortyns of launde to draw afore the sepulture on the ester holy days."¹⁶

Now and again there is mention of stoles or girdles for the sepulchre. In the accounts of St. Dunstan-in-the-East, London (1550—4. Edward VI), we have "a gerdle of Sylke w^t a Lyst of Blew & Yellow"; in those of Wing, Bucks (1565), "a gyrdeyll off neiddle worke for the sepulcher"; at Minster-in-Sheppy, it was a "stole of red sendall for the sepulchre." In 1390, Agnes de Harwood, of Blyth, bequeathed to the Sepulchre in the Church of Blyth (York), "j zonam cum argento harnesatam."¹⁷

Pieces of rich fabric to carry the Blessed Sacrament in also appear, *e. g.*:

1550. (4. Edward VI.) LONDON: St. Dunstan-in-the-East. (*Churchwardens' Accounts*).

"Item, a pece of Sypres to Cary the Sacrament in."

and clothes of linen and sheets to lay within the sepulchre to repose the pyx and cross upon:

1485. LEICESTERSHIRE: St. Mary's. (*Benedictine Nunnery*). Langley.

"one fine shete for the sepulchre."

1550. LONDON: St. Dunstan-in-the-East.

"Item, a shete to Laye in the Sepulture."

The stoles, girdles, etc., we may presume, a feature originating from the early mediæval practice of draping altars with priestly vestments. Our modern antependium is a more or less recognizable vestige of this. Note the Antiphon, "*Circumcingite Altare Domini; vestite vestimentis Sanctis*," in the Dedication of an Altar Office in the Roman Pontifical.

The Inventory taken in the fourth year of King Edward VI (1550) of the goods of St. Dunstan-in-the-East Church, London, gives what may be taken as a fairly complete list of "that that belonges to the Sepulture and for good ffrydaye:"

¹⁶ Clothes or canopies of lawn were used to cover the Hanging Pix.

¹⁷ *Test. Ebor.*, vol. i, p. 142 (F. F.). (*Surtees Society*.)

- “ *Item*, a Sepulture of cloth of golde.”
 “ *Item*, a Caneype of cloth of golde w^t iiij stanes (staves?) paynted Red belonging to the same.”
 “ *Item*, a pece of whyte Sylke w^t iiij tasseles & iiij knappes of golde threde Lyke a Coverpane.”
 “ *Item*, a pece of Sypres to Cary the Sacrament in.”
 “ *Item*, a gerdle of Sylke w^t a Lyst of Blew and yelow.”
 “ *Item*, ij Napkyns for the high Aulter wroughte with sylke.”
 “ *Item*, a shete to Laye in the Sepulchre.”
 “ *Item*, a greate Cossyn of Cloth of Golde.”
 “ *Item*, . . . an aulter cloth of the sepulture w^t Curtyns w^t Aungelles.”⁷⁸

One of the curiosities of the wills and testamentary dispositions of mediæval folk is the frequent bequest of rich articles of dress for church use. Not a few of these came to the church as “mortuaries” at the burial of their owners. The Easter sepulchre came in for its share. Lady Bardolph, wife of the Chamberlain to Henry VI, thus left to Dennington Church, Suffolk, “a purple gown with small sleeves to adorn the easter Sepulchre there.”⁷⁹

THE SEPULCHRE LIGHT.

As lights were lit and set about the biers and tombs of the dead, so the Easter sepulchre was similarly illuminated by a light commonly called the *Sepulchre Light*—“*Lumen Sancti Sepulcri* ;”⁸⁰ the light about the Sepulchre—“*Lumen circa (or coram) Sepulchrum Domini* ;”⁸¹ or the light of the Sepulchre of the Resurrection of the Lord—“*Lumini Sepultrae resurrectionis Domine*.”⁸²

Although the rubrics of the Sarum,⁸³ Wells, Hereford, Ar-

⁷⁸ Public Record Office. *Church Goods Exch.*, Q. R. 4-98.

⁷⁹ The Empress Agnes (1062), thus distributed her Imperial toilettes among the Roman churches.

⁸⁰ Will of Roger Lorkyn (1441), Reg. Con. Ct. of Roch. (i, 5).

⁸¹ Will of John Wilet (1450), West Wickham, Kent. *Ibid.*

⁸² Will of Thomas Wilborne (1532), Shoreham, Kent. *Ibid.* (18 Flower.)

⁸³ “On Good Friday after the Lord’s Body is laid in the sepulchre, two wax candles, of at least half a pound, shall burn all day before the sepulchre. On the following night, and thenceforth up to the procession which takes place before Matins on Easter Day, only one of them.” *Consuetudinary of St. Osmond*, chap. v, L. 18, 19.

buthnot, and other ritual books prescribe the minimum of a single taper; only the poorest churches have limited themselves to such a number, the term "light" in its general acceptance being interpreted to mean not a single light but the light *collectively* obtained from one or more lights, as the "Church Light,"⁸⁴ "the Rood Light," the "Beam Light," etc.

At Sarum the wax taper was to burn *before* the sepulchre; at Hereford it was to be place *within* the sepulchre with the cross and the door closed; and similarly at Wells "with the Body of the Lord." The parish accounts at Ludlow under the date 1557, furnish like evidence: "*Item*, to hym for makynge the toppe of one of them (sepulchre tapers) anewe after it was burnt out *in* the sepulchre, jd."⁸⁵ A quarter of a pound of wax was used to close the stock.

Seeing that the light burned at the sepulchre from the Mass of Good Friday⁸⁶ until the "Resurrection" on the morning of Easter Day, the majority of the lights would be extinguished in the night-time and a single taper, or perhaps two, left to keep vigil. In fact the famous Custom Book of St. Osmund directs that on Good Friday, after the Lord's Body had been laid in the sepulchre, two wax tapers of at least half a pound weight were to burn all day before the sepulchre, but on the following night and thenceforth up to the procession which took place before Matins on Easter Day, only one of them. The Constitutions of the Bridgettine nuns of Syon likewise ordain two tapers only to burn "in a more syker (secure) place for eschewing of perelle."⁸⁷ In regard to the statement that the Sepulchre Light was maintained from Good Friday until Easter morning it should be noted that the *tempus Paschale* was a definite liturgical term denoting the period from the Mass on Easter Eve to the First Evensong of

⁸⁴ William Crowland, in 1521, left to Wickham Church, Kent, ten ewe sheep to maintain the light at Easter. Pre. Ct. of Cant., 11 Maynwaryng.

⁸⁵ In the church of St. Sebald, Nuremberg, a monument, apparently an Easter sepulchre, has in the upper part a handsome metal door, a curious grille covering a small hole, evidently to give a view of the wax candle when burning within the recess.

⁸⁶ So the will of Johan Osborne (1523) "A pound of wax to repare the sepulcurre lyght." Reg. Con. Ct. Roch. (vii, 338.)

⁸⁷ AUNGIER: *History of Syon*, p. 350.

Trinity Sunday. This is supported by the testimony of the wills of the period.

William de Makenade, whose will was proved May 18, 1407, after directing his body to be interred without wrapping or covering of any kind, in the churchyard of Preston-next-Faversham, Kent, bequeaths to the churchwardens of the said church ten cows, the money to be derived from farming them to provide a taper which should annually be kept burning at the Easter sepulchre in the Church, "from Good Friday morning to the hour of the Resurrection of our Lord." The will of Alice Bray (dated 1509), bequeaths a 4-lb. wax taper "to bren before the sepulture of ouer Lorde," in Chelsfield Church, Kent, "at the time of Easter that is to saye from goode fridaye to thursdaye in the Ester weke to be brennyng at tymes conuenyant according as other lighthes be wonte and used to be kept there about the sepulture."⁸⁸ In the following year (1510) Richard Wigenden leaves to Cowden Church in the same county, "a taper of v li.wex to bren before the sepulture vppon Goode Fridaye and in the tyme of Easter."⁸⁹

Thomas Mering, of Newark, Yorkshire, Esquire, by his will dated August 13, 1500, bequeaths unto young Robert Kelytt and his wife, the house he was dwelling in, for the term of ten years, "so y^t he find yerly at my sepulcur⁹⁰ at y^e tyme of Estur v serges, and every serge vj^{li}, for the date of xij dayes."⁹¹ Forty years later his nephew, John Mering, of Mering, Yorkshire, Esquire, by will dated June 16, 1541, provides that "at Ester the said Thomas Meringes landes shall fynde fyve tapours for the sepulture, every tapour to be of vj li. a pece, and to burn the spacie of xijth days."⁹² The Church accounts of St. Ewen, Bristol (1514), have the entry: "*Item*, for markynge off the sepulcare lyght, viij^d."⁹³

The evidence afforded by the churchwardens' accounts and

⁸⁸ Reg. Con. Ct. Roch. (vi, 268).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* (vi, 312).

⁹⁰ He was the builder or founder of the chapel known as the "Mering Chapel," which still exists in Newark Church on the north side of the altar. The Easter Sepulchre seems to have been there and probably on his own tomb.

⁹¹ *Test. Ebor.* (Reg. Test. iii, 327a), vol. ii, p. 179.

⁹² *Ibid.* (Reg. Test. xi, 693d), vol. vi, p. 135. (*Surtees Society.*)

⁹³ *Trans., Brist. and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv.

the testamentary dispositions of the faithful of the period in which the ritual observance of the Easter sepulchre was most in favor, clearly shows that no restriction was laid upon the devotion of the people as to the sepulchre adornment in this particular. In some parishes the sepulchre was in the care of a guild, fraternity, or brotherhood whose business it was at this period of the year to perambulate the parish and to collect from the parishioners offerings toward the maintenance of the church light in general and the Paschal, Sepulchre, Tenebrae, Font, and other lights in particular.

SEPULCHRE GUILDS.

From Northamptonshire wills, *temp.* Henry VIII, we learn that there were sepulchre guilds at, among other places, Finedon, Kettering, Mears, Ashby, Wellingborough, and Wollaston. At Raunds it went by the name of the Guild of the Resurrection. In 1463, John Baret, citizen of Bury St. Edmund's, bequeathed £8 to the Resurrection Guild and directed an annual payment of 8d. to provide eight tapers "stondyng at the grave of the resurrecon gyldre." The will of William Blyton, of Kirton in Lindsey, Lincolnshire, executed in 1498, supplies the names of the five guilds at that place and among them appears the "Guild of the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ." The Guild of the Resurrection of our Lord at Lincoln, founded Easter, 1374, kept the hearse for the departed and the lights for the Easter sepulchre. In Taunton wills, testators make special bequests to "fraternitates summe crucis et sancti sepulcri." The members of these societies would have, among other things, the charge of the sepulchre, lights, watchings, and other ceremonies connected therewith.

The old church accounts furnish many interesting particulars in regard to these collections. For instance, in the twenty-first and twenty-second years of King Henry VI, the Brethren of the Holy Trinity in connection with the Church of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, paid (in) for wax and lighting the Sepulchre "both years," xxs. viiijd., and gathered in the same period for the sepulchre light xivs. ix. d. In the year 1546 was received from the parishioners of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, "for the Pascal and tokyn monye" at Easter the large sum of xxxvs. vd., and in addition to this xs. iiij. d. ob. was gathered for the sepulchre light. In

the last year but one (1554?) of Queen Mary's reign, two "gatherers" were appointed at St. Martin's, Leicester, for the sepulchre light and two for the rood light. At Thame, Oxon., and Wing, Bucks, the collectors were called the "light men of the sepulchre" and "light men to the blessed Sepulker."

At Wagtoft, Lincolnshire, there was an "Alderman of the Sepulchre Light," whose duty it was, doubtless, to superintend the whole proceedings. In some parishes, as that of Heybridge, (in the twenty-first year of Henry VIII) the maidens and bachelors and other sections of the parishioners provided the tapers for the illumination of the sepulchre. In other places, as at Stowmarket, the "Common Light," stood before the sepulchre, and another known as the "Bachelors' Light," was maintained at the cost of the single men of the parish. To the "bachilars light before the sepulchre," in the church of Allhallows, Hoo, Kent, Raffe Graves, in 1514, bequeathed "two mother sheep."⁹⁴

The accounts relating to the Church of St. Peter, Cheap, London, under the date 1447, show that at least in some places, the "gatherers" had some recompense for their trouble:—"Item, pade for a gal'on of wyne which was yevyn to synnam & to bogye for gederyng of money on good frydaye, viijd." From this it would seem that the collection, at least in the London city churches, was made on Good Friday, as the St. Andrew Hubbard accounts, for 1521-2, have a similar entry:—"Receyved on good fryday toward the sepulcre, iijs." This, however, may have been the offerings—Creeping Silver—made at the adoration of creeping to the Cross.

It appears that the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem was itself under the care of a guild or fraternity which derived its name from assisting at the ceremonies observed there at Easter time. There were Brotherhoods of the Holy Sepulchre composed of pilgrims who had made or were making pilgrimage to the Holy Land, such as that, for example, which built the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Cambridge, between the years 1114-1130, in imitation of that which covered the traditional site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. This being said, it is quite possible that some of those sepulchre guilds were associations

⁹⁴ Reg. Con. Ct. Roch. (vii, 18).

connected with pilgrims or with the Holy Sepulchre itself and not, to any great extent, with the Easter sepulchre in their parish church.

BEQUEST FOR THE SEPULCHRE LIGHTS.

Devout parishioners making their testamentary dispositions frequently include a bequest in money or kind to maintain the lights of the sepulchre. These bequests vary from the single candle or scanty pence of the poor to the ample gifts or donations in money of the wealthy.

In 1441, James Fulk leaves to "Lum. Sci. Sepulcri" in Higham Church, Kent, *ij*d.⁹⁵ The same amount was received, in 1523, of two sailors, "Cornysse men for the syzthe [sight, lyzthe—light] of the sepulcur" in Stoke Courcy Church, Devon. William Cutbull, of Pitminster, Somerset (will dated July 29, 1534), bequeaths to the sepulchre light there, 4d. John Sterkyn, in the fifteenth century, gave 3s. 4d. "to the light of the Holy Sepulchre" in Haslingfield Church, Cambridge; and so on in numerous instances. Occasionally very liberal gifts were made, as, for example, that of Thomas, Lord Dacre, who, in 1531, made a bequest of £100, "to be employed toward the lights about the said sepulchre, in wax tapers of 10 pounds weight each, to burn about it."

Not infrequently the gift was made in kind, *i. e.*, in wax or animals—cows, sheep, bees, etc.—that they might by their sale or produce maintain, for a certain period, or "for ever," as the phrase went, the "Light about the Sepulchre." "I Will," says Thomas Love, in his will dated 1502, "that Halstow Church (Kent) shall haue a cow to maynten a taper to bren a fore the Sepulcr for euermore."⁹⁶ Alice Langley, in 1526, left to "the sepulcre light of Frendesbury Church (Kent) a cow for a taper of *iiij*. li.wex before the sepulcre the ester tyme."⁹⁷ To Tilmanstone Church, Kent, Richard Knott (will dated April 10, 1480, and proved June 12, 1498) makes a bequest of three ewes and three pounds of wax "to th' entent that the *iiij* li.wex may be maynteyned and light yerely over the sepulchre of our Lord at Estertyme."⁹⁸ To the sepulchre light in Hoo Saint Mary's Church, Kent, John

⁹⁵ Reg. Con. Ct. Roch. (i, 4).

⁹⁶ Reg. Con. Ct. of Roch. (vi, 62).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* (viii, 75). ⁹⁸ *Ibid.* (vii, 338). Archidiaconal Registry, Canterbury.

Hall, in 1525, left a "mother shepe."⁹⁹ A parishioner of Naseby, Northamptonshire, in 1529, left all his hives of bees to maintain the Rood and Sepulchre Lights.¹⁰⁰ "I witt," says the will (dated May 20, 1500) of William Wright, late of Bishophthorpe, York, "to my parish kirke on old stok of bees w^t a swarm, to y^e upholdingyng of a serge of v pond before y^e sepulcre."¹⁰¹

In some instances lands—light or lamp lands were bequeathed, the rents accruing therefrom going to the support of these lights.

The Corporation of Bridport has in its possession a document dated in the fifteenth year of King Richard II, in which it is stated that a certain Robert Clement delivers 25s., which he had, to find wax candles before our Lord's Sepulture.¹⁰² "I will," says William Swetesyre (1527), "that Peter Strodyll, of North Craye, Kent, shall kepe yerely two tapers of fyue pounds wax burnyng before the sepulcre wthin the said church for euermore for which he hath a certain parcell of lond of me called Williams londe in the parishe of Northcraie."¹⁰³ William Whythed (1468) directed that "Will Whythed the yenger" should find "a taper brennyng by fore the sepulker (in Chelsfield Church, Kent) at Ester of iij li. wex duryng hys lyue."¹⁰⁴ John Morley, in 1533, directs his "feoffy Robert Derby to cause a taper of iiij li. wax standing in the Church of Dertford (Dartford, Kent), before the sepulcr at Easter everi yere."¹⁰⁵ William Lownde (1530) desired his executors among other lights to maintain the sepulchre taper one year in the same church.¹⁰⁶

Ecclesiastical regulation ordained that the tapers should be of wax, and by the strict letter of the rubric a single taper only seems to have been required. Judging from the church accounts and the testamentary dispositions of the faithful, no uniformity of practice was observed either in regard to the number or the size of the tapers so employed.

Bernard Creke (will dated July 16, 1513) desires his executor

⁹⁹ Reg. Con. Ct. Roch. (vii, 370).

¹⁰⁰ Probate Office, Derngate, Northampton. See *Arch. Journal*, lviii, No. 230, pp. 113-132.

¹⁰¹ *Test. Ebor.* (Reg. Test. iii, 322b), vol. ii, p. 174.

¹⁰² 6th, Report. Hist. MSS. Com., pt. i. p. 476.

¹⁰³ Pre. Ct. Cant. 23, Porch.

¹⁰⁴ Reg. Con. Ct. Roch. (iii, 18).

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* (ix, 110).

¹⁰⁶ Pre. Ct. Cant., 26 Jankyn.

to provide yearly a taper before the sepulchre in Edenbridge Church, Kent.¹⁰⁷ To St. Mary's Church, Devizes, William Smyth, in 1436, left a legacy to provide for the maintenance of three sepulchre tapers.¹⁰⁸ In 1463, John Baret, of Bury Saint Edmunds, directed 8d. to be paid yearly for eight tapers to stand at the grave of the Resurrection Guild. By a transaction dated March 1, 1430, Abbot John Wheathampstead ordained twelve wax lights to stand on the sepulchre of our Lord on the day of His Passion, and there to remain burning. This was in the great Abbey Church of St. Alban. Nevertheless, some of the great parish churches could do as much. This we see from the Register Book of the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity at St. Botolph's without Aldersgate: "Item, for xiii tapers unto the lyght about the Sepulcre, agenst the ffeste of Estern, weying lxxviii lb. of the wich was wasted xxii lb."

These numbers, *twelve* and *thirteen*, were doubtless intended to symbolize our Lord and His twelve Apostles, the odd one being the chief or "Master" candle, as representative of the Redeemer. Thus it generally exceeded the others in size.

A separate taper of great stature and girth, in addition to the other lights burning over the grave, was used at the funerals of persons of consequence.¹⁰⁹ In 1483-4, the churchwardens of St. Edmund's, Sarum, made a payment of iiijd. to J. Bullock "kerver for mendyng, of a great Candelstick of tree broken made and ordeyned to stonde a bowte the sepultur' of dedd peple w^t ynne the ch.:"

Christopher Stapleton, of Wighill, Yorkshire, Esquire, by will dated July 30, in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Henry VIII, after ordaining that six torches at three shillings and four

¹⁰⁷ Con. Ct. Roch. (vii, ii).

¹⁰⁸ *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. ii, p. 252.

¹⁰⁹ E. g. at the funeral of Sir John Paston, at Bromholme, in 1466. *Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner, 1874, vol. ii, p. 268. John of Croxton, of York, Chandler, left a torch nine feet long, to each of the four Orders of Friars in York. *Test. Ebor.* (B. f. 111), vol. i, p. 184. (*Surtees Soc.*) Thomas Stow, grandfather of the Chronicler, bequeaths vs. to have on every altar of St. Michael in Cornhill, a watching candle of eight in the pound, to burn from six of the clock till it be past seven, from All Hallowsen-day till Candlemas Day following, in worship of the Seven Sacraments.

pence apiece should burn about his body on its burial day and afterwards to remain in the parish church of Wighill as long as they should endure, adds: "I wyll that xij serges [French *cierges*—wax candles], xij of theme a li a pece, in the worshipec of the xij Apostles, the xiiij of iij li., in the worshipec of the Fader, the Sone, and the Holie Goste, to burne aboute my body the day of my buriall, and then they to be burned afore the Sacramente as longe as they will endure."¹¹⁰ Lancelot Stapilton, of Wath, Yorkshire (will dated February 1, 1538), *inter alia*, charges his executors with a similar bequest with this difference, viz., that the "xiiijth. serdge" of three pounds was only to be burned "afor the sacrament," the other "ij serdges" to be burned in like manner "afor the sacrament and the sepulcre, every ij serdges at ons so long as they last, and that if the proctor or the prest clame any of them, then I will that youe bere none, but light them at youre pleasure where you list."¹¹¹

It is difficult to arrive at even the proportionate size or approximate weight of these tapers, as in the church accounts they are invariably reckoned up with the other church wax, *i e.*, the making of the Paschal, the Font taper, the Cross, and Tenebræ candles. As there was in general a collection for providing these lights, their number and size would correspond with the amount received. As has been shown, the maidens and bachelors of Heybridge provided eighteen tapers—nine apiece—each containing five pounds of wax. This very common number of five was doubtless associated with the old English devotion to the Five Wounds of our Lord. Barnard Creke (1513) leaves a taper of five pounds of wax to burn before the sepulchre in Edenbridge Church, Kent.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ *Testamenta Eboracensia* (Reg. Test. xi, 269), vol. vi, p. 67. (*Surttees Society*.)

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* (xi, 350) vol. vi, p. 84. Edmund Clifton, of Wilford, York, Gent., expresses a similar wish in his will dated 1st March, 1546-7, "I will that vj torches be bought and stand burnynge abowte me the day of my buriall, and then to be burned afore the sacrament." *Ibid.* (xiii, 305), vol. vi, p. 253.

¹¹² Will Register, vii, 2 Consistory Court of Rochester, now at Somerset House. Alice, late wife of John Fischer, of East Greenwich (1496), wills the parish priest to say "v masses of the v woonds v days together afore the high altar, v small candles to burn at every mass." C. C. R. (v. 365).

At the London City Church of St. Andrew Hubbard, there were in 1510 *three* sepulchre tapers of eighteen pounds, twenty-three shillings being received toward them; in 1535-7 the sum of seven shillings and eight pence was collected and eight shillings expended. In 1555, St. Leonard's, Foster Lane, London, had *sixteen* tapers, weighing twenty-four pounds, and costing six shillings and eight pence. St. Michael's, Cornhill, had *ten* of two pounds of wax each. Twenty-two pence was received for two tapers, in 1552, at Thame, Oxon. Three years later at Ludlow, a parish of some consequence, six pence covered the cost of the taper; the following year two tapers were bought for a shilling, and the next, two "little tapers" at the modest sum of two pence. On the other hand the sepulchre light of St. Martin's, Leicester, which weighed three score and fifteen pounds was sold in (March 20th) 1547 (1 Edward VI) to Richard Raynford, at three pence halfpenny per pound, 21s. 10½d.

These lights are mentioned as being set above or over, before or about, the sepulchre.¹¹³ This seems to have been done by means of a beam or loft or frame of timber, hanging candle-lamps or cressets, and candles fixed on pins of beech or ash.

In a MS. on Long Melford Church, dealing with the period of the Reformation, a pretty correct description of such a frame is found. "In the quire," says the writer, "was a fair painted frame of timber to be set up about Maunday Thursday, with holes for a number of fair tapers to stand in before the sepulchre, and to be lighted in service time. Sometimes it was set overthwart the quire before the high altar, the sepulchre being always placed and finely garnished at the north end of the high altar . . . the said frame with the tapers was set near to the steps going up to the said altar. Lastly it was used to be set up along Mr. Clifton's aisle, with a door made to go out of the Rood-loft into it." ¹¹⁴

¹¹³ "Volo quod Alicia ux. mea supportabit meum paschal. cereum cremend. coram sepulchro in die parasives et eius mortis." John Bettesham (1499), C. C. R. (v. 353).

¹¹⁴ NEALE: *Views of Most Interesting Churches*, vol. ii. Compare "a chapel with a frame barred with iron" in an Inventory of Stuff of the Grey Friars, Bridgewater (amongst the things received out of the church), *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xiii, pt. ii, p. 130.

The church accounts of St. Lawrence, Reading, contain references to similar lofts. In the year 1516, an item of two shillings and twopence was paid for making the loft of the sepulchre light. Two decades later (1538-9) it is called the beam light: "Payd for makeynge the beam lights over the sepulcre ayenst easter, xxjd." Another decade (1549), and we have the entry of the sale of the sepulchre and "frame for tapers thereto annexed."

At St. Margaret's, Southwark (1485), four long cressets and a similar number of short ones were used "for to sett the lyghtes aboote the sepulture on good fryday, peynted rede with yrons to the same." In 1499, "a lampe and . . . tentyr hooks to the sepulchre," was purchased for the Church of St. Mary-at-Hill, London. In the (1552) inventory of goods belonging to All Saints' Church, Canterbury, is entered "ij pyllers to bere the sepulchre lyght."

How long these lights burned about the sepulchre is not clearly apparent. In all probability they were generally removed after the withdrawal of the Host from the sepulchre on Easter Day or one of the days following, and either reserved for future use in the same connection, or other like purpose. Richard Wig-genden the elder (1510), bequeathing four kine to the churchwardens of Cowden Church, Kent, to provide a wax taper of five pounds weight' to burn before the sepulchre on Good Friday and in the time of Easter, directs that that taper with two others of two and a half pounds weight each, should be set before the image of Our Lady. In like manner William Petley (1528), left "to the maynten'ce of the Sepulchre light in Halstead Church (Kent), a Taper of wax iiij lb. weight for euer to be contynued and yerely ayenst Ester to be made of the weight of iiij lb. of wax w^t the weight of the old stock of the said Taper and after the light of the holy sepulcre be taken down yerely in the Ester weke I will the stock of the said sepulchre taper be sett before the forsaid image of our Lady, and it there to be light and brent at conuenient tymes." Ralph Elwick, of Seaton, Yorkshire, Gentleman, leaves by his will dated May 2, 1531, six shillings and eight pence, to find one light "afor sepulcor," such light "to be dyspossed as his executors thynkes the best to be doyn."¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. vi, p. 18. (*Surttees Society*.)

THE PYX.

The vessel used for the deposition of the Host in the majority of churches was the pyx suspended over the altar—*pixide in tabernaculo dependeat*—or a like depository reserved for the purpose. The Commissioners, 6. Edward VI (1552), found at All Saints', Canterbury, "a litill monstros of sylver clene gylte for the resurrection." In the Cathedral and Abbey and some of the wealthy parish churches a special pyx in the form of an image of the dead or risen Saviour, carved in wood or moulded in one of the precious metals, was used, a receptacle for the Sacred Host being provided under a beral¹¹⁶ in the breast :

1557. LUDLOW: (*Churchwardens' Accounts.*)

"for makynge and kervynge the image for the resurrexion, xvij^d."

In the inventory of the goods of Oxford Cathedral taken in the last year of King Henry VIII's reign appears: "A pixe of the ymage of God, gilte, weing 33 ozs." The Lincoln Cathedral inventories mention an image of Christ, silver and gilt with a beryl before and a diadem at the back of the head, and a cross in the hand, weighing 37 ozs. for the Sacrament on Easter Day. It seems to have stood upon six lions.¹¹⁷ Similar pixes were at Durham, the Account Rolls having a payment of four pence "for y^e mendyng of y^e ymage of Christ for y^e resurrection;"¹¹⁸ and Wells "a silver gilt image of the risen Christ."¹¹⁹ The York Processional has "imagine cum corona spinia."¹²⁰

In an inventory dated 38. Henry VIII, of St. Peter's, Corn-

¹¹⁶ *I. e.*, crystal or glass. Leland in his account of Sudely Castle, mentions as a thing to be noted, that some of the windows were glazed with *beral*. Katherine, Countess of Northumberland (will dated Saturday, xiiijth October, 1542), bequeathed "a burall with a silver foote gilte to putt in reliques with thre wiers of silver to stand on." Also "a pix of silver in burralles for the sacrament." *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. vi, p. 167. (*Surtees Society*.) Circa 1500 Cathedral Church of York had "unus morsus cum passione sancti Thome Cantuar. depicta sub berill." *York Fabric Rolls* (*Surtees Society*), p. 222.

¹¹⁷ WORDSWORTH: (Christopher), *Lincoln Inventories*, p. 16; *Inventories*, *Archæologia*, vol. liii, pp. 16, 45.

¹¹⁸ *Durham Account Rolls*, vol. iii, p. 721. (*Surtees Society*.)

¹¹⁹ DEARMER: (P.) *Wells, History of the Cathedral and See*, pp. 102.

¹²⁰ *Processionale secundum usum Eboracensem*, p. 170. (*Surtees Society*.)

hill, London, there is marked as lacking "a picture [synonymous with image] for the resurrection on ester day w^t an owche of silu' and guilt in the breast." Taking the inventory, 6. Edward VI (1552), at St. Saviour's, Southwark, the Commissioners found "ij peaces of silver knoppis which was in the breast of the ymage of the Resurrection." In the same year, taking the inventory at Greenwich, they endorsed thereon a memorandum to the effect that all the goods mentioned in the inventory had been delivered to the churchwardens save, among other things, a "small thing of silver that stode in the brest of an Image of woode with a cristall stone, presented to have been stolen."

Peacock notes the destruction of such a pyx at Belton, in the Isle of Axholme, Lincolnshire, "a sepulker with little Jack broken in pieces one year ago (1565-6—sixth year of Elizabeth); but little Jack was broken in pieces this year (1566) by the said churchwardens."

The following inventory excerpt from an inventory of the goods of a London city church provides an instance of what was probably an Easter sepulchre and its appurtenances complete :

1466. LONDON : St. Stephen, Coleman Street.

"Itm, the resurrecon of our lorde w^t the avyse in his bosn to put the sac'ment therein."

"Itm, anothir grete branch be for the Resurrecon . . . w^t v small branches ther on."

"Itm, xxijⁱ disshes for the sepulcur and ij disshes for the pascalle w^t Cordes that ptainis thereto."

"Itm, j grete glasse hangng be for the resurrecon in the chaunsell."

"Itm, j sepulcur ou gylgyd, w^t j frame to be set oū w^t iiij poste and cryste p to."

"Itm, iiij trestell to have the sepult downe w^t iiij ironys to be r h^t vp w^t."

"Itm, iiij Angell for to be set on the posts w^t iiij sencs ij gylgyd and ij not gylgyt."

"Itm, iiij grete angell to be set on the sepulcur' w^t dyus small angell."

"Itm, ij steyned clothes w^t the apostoll and the ppete bettyn w^t golde w^t the crede."

“Itm, viij bar es bettyn w^t golde to be set abowte the sepulcur w^t dyus small pyms.”

“Itm, iiij knyghte to be set on the poste befor the do r.”

“Itm, j angyll to be set in the dor.”

“Itm, j canape steyned w^t a sōn of Golde to heng ou the sepulcur at ester.”

“Itm, j Rydyl steyned w^t a chalix and the fygur of the sacrament ou hyt.”

1542. “Itm, a clothe to drawe ou the sepulture.”

WATCHERS AT THE SEPULCHRE.

Certain persons were appointed to watch with the parishioners before the sepulchre. Although we are told that this was done in reparation “for the watching of the perfidious Jews and blind heathen” round our Lord’s sepulchre of humiliation in Jerusalem, or that they were prompted the more readily to participate in this devotion from the still lingering ancient belief that the Second Advent of our Lord would take place on Easter eve, it was little more than a following of the custom prevalent among our mediæval forefathers of watching the dead till burial.

The Constitutions of the Parish Clerks at Holy Trinity Church, Coventry, dated 1462, sets it down as the duty of the second Deacon to watch the Sepulchre¹²¹ on Good Friday at night, and of the (First?) Deacon on the night of Easter Eve “tyll the resurreccion be don.”¹²²

William the Bedeman had the custody of the sepulchre light in Bridgwater Church:—“Solut Willelmo Bedeman pro custodia luminis sepulcri domini in festo pasche, viijd.” Eight-pence appears to have been a general sum disbursed to the watcher, as it was paid by the churchwardens of St. Mary’s, Reading, in 1558 (2. Edward VI), to “Roger Brock, for watching of the sepulchre;” and iij^d more for “syses”—(candles, sixes), and “collis” (char-

¹²¹ The Wolberswick, Suffolk church accounts (1451), record or payment “for watching of candel Estorne nytis.”

¹²² Constitutions of the Parish Clerks at Holy Trinity Church, Coventry (A.D. 1462), Legg (J. Wickham). *The Clerk’s Book* of 1549. London, 1903. Appendix I, §§ 65, 25, pp. 62, 59. *British Magazine*, 1834, vol. vi, p. 262. Sharp, (Thomas), Illustrations of the . . . History of Holy Trinity Church, Coventry. Coventry, 1818.

coal); by those of Eltham, Kent, in 1554, for *two* nights' watching;¹²⁴ and in 1499, at St. Lawrence, Reading "for wakyng of the Sepulchre."¹²³ At St. Mary's, Devizes (1499), 1s. 2d. was paid "to four men for keeping of the Sepulchre two nights."¹²⁵

Refreshment was provided for the watcher in the shape of bread and ale and in fire (charcoal) to keep him warm:—

1480-2. LONDON: St. Andrew Hubbard, East Cheap. (Church-wardens' Accounts).

"*Item*, paid for brede, ale and fyre to watche the sepulchre, vij^d."

1517. "*Item*, paid ffor ij watchers of the sepulker, viij^d.; ffor choles (charcoal) & alle & brede, vij^d."

1526-7. "Paid at Ester for Colis bred drynke and for a man to watche the sepulchre."

At Lichfield three persons are said to have kept¹²⁶ unbroken vigil singing psalms until Matins were said on Easter morning; at Eton College three or four of the elder scholars used to take the watch in turn.

This watching was continued without intermission until the dawn of Easter Day, "*In Die Paschae*," says the *Processionale secundum usum Eboracensem* (Surtees Society edition, p. 170): "In aurora pulsatis campanis, ad classicum congregato clero et populo, flexis genibus dicitur Oratio Dominicalis; et postea Sacerdos thurificet sepulcrum, et proferatur sacramentum cum imagine cum corona spinea."

In the MSS. copy of the Manual in the library of Sir John Lawson, Bart., of Brough Hall, Catterick, dated about 1403, the rubric runs as follows:—

"*In Die Paschae. In die Paschae ad Resurrectionem Praelatus cum ministris cum Capis sericis, flexis genibus coram sepulchro, dicant*

¹²³ LYSONS: *Environs of London*, vol. iv, p. 416.

¹²⁴ COATES: *History of St. Lawrence, Reading*, p. 214. 1507. Pilton, Somersetshire "for waking of the sepulture taper, 1s. ix^d."

¹²⁵ Duties of Parish Clerks of St. Nicholas, Bristol (1481) §§ 15, 16, fol. 32 *et seq.* *St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society Transactions*, 1902, vol. v, P. ii, pp. 110 *et seq.* Similar Regulations for the Two Clerks of Holy Trinity, Coventry (1462); for the Clerks and Sexton of Faversham, Kent (1506); and of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London.

¹²⁶ *Archæologia*, vol. i, p. 16.

Orationem Dominicam, et surgant, et thurificent sepulcrum, et accipiant pyxidem cum Corpore et Crucem, et versis vultibus ad populum incipiat Praelatus :

V.—Responsorium. Christus resurgens ex mortuis.

V.—Dicant nunc Judaei.

Responsorium. Christus, et cetera.

V.—Dicant, et cetera.

Quibus percantatis dicat Praelatus :

V.—Resurrexit Dominus.

Chorus respondeat : Sicut dixit nobis, Alleluya.

Et secundum quosdam fiat Processio circa fontem baptismalem, cum Psalmo Te Deum laudamus."

There was generally a separate procession for the Sacred Host and the Cross from the sepulchre. The Ludlow Church accounts have an entry (1555) of a payment of xxd "Paid for ij lynkes at Ester to bere before the sacrament."

Barnabe Googe in 1570 thus describes "the Resurrection of the Lord."

THE SCENERY.

"At midnight then with carefull minde, they up to mattens ries,
The Clarke doth come, and after him, the Priest with staring eies :
The Image and the breade from out the graue (a worthie sight)
They take, and Angels two they place in vesture white.

An other Image of a Conquerour they forth doe bring,¹²⁷
And on the aulter place, and then, they lustily doe sing,
That Gates of hell asunder burst, and Sathan overthrowne,
Christ from his graue is risen up, and now aliue is knowne.

In some place solemne sightes and showes, and pageants fayre are play'd,
With sundry sortes of maskers braue, in straunge attire aray'd,
As where the Maries three doe meete, the sepulchre to see,
And John with Peter swiftly runnes, before him there to bee."

It would seem that this "Image of a Conquerour," *i.e.*, of the risen Saviour, was left upon the Altar until Ascension Day, as the author continues further on :—

¹²⁷ WRIOTHESLEY in his *Chronicle* notes that on "the 27th day of November, being the first Sunday of Advent, preached at Paul's Cross, Dr. Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, where he showed a picture of the resurrection of our Lord, made with vices, which put his legs out of the sepulchre, and blessed with his hand and turned his head." *Camden Society*, II, p. 1.

“ The blocke that on the aultar still, till then was seen to stande,
Is drawne up hie aboue the roof, by ropes, and force of hand,” etc.

This was also the custom at Durham.

The author of the Durham Rites pictures for us the ceremony as it occurred there : There was, he says (I have modernized the spelling), in the Abbey Church of Durham very solemn service upon Easter Day between 3 and 4 of the clock in the morning in honor of the Resurrection, where two of the oldest monks of the quire came to the sepulchre, being set up upon Good Friday after the Passion, all covered with red velvet and embroidered with gold, and then did cense it either monk with a pair of silver censers sitting on their knees before the sepulchre, then they both rising came to the sepulchre, out of which with great reverence they took a marvellous beautiful Image of our Saviour representing the Resurrection with a cross in his hand in the breast whereof was enclosed in bright crystal the Holy Sacrament of the altar, through the which crystal the Blessed Host was conspicuous, to the beholders, then after the elevation of the said picture (image) carried by the said two monks upon a fair velvet cushion all embroidered singing the anthem of Christus Resurgens they brought to the high altar setting that on the midst thereof whereon it stood the two monks kneeling on their knees before the altar, and censing it all the time that the rest of the whole quire was in singing the foresaid anthem of Christus Resurgens, the which anthem being ended the two monks took up the cushions and the picture (image) from the altar supporting it betwixt them, proceeding in procession from the high altar to the south quire door where there was (*sic*) four ancient gentlemen belonging to the prior appointed to attend their coming holding up a most rich canopy of purple velvet tached round about with red silk, and gold fringe, and at every corner did stand one of these ancient gentlemen to bear it over the said Image, with the Holy Sacrament carried by two monks round about the church the whole quire waiting upon it with goodly torches and a great store of other lights, all singing rejoicing and praising God most devoutly till they came to the high altar again, whereon they did place the said Image there to remain until the Ascension Day.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ FOWLER (Canon) : *Rites of Durham*, pp. 12-13. (*Surtees Society*.)

From the inventories it would seem to have been customary in some places after the removal of the Sacred Host to set carven angels either within or at the door of the sepulchre :

1431. LONDON : St. Peter Cheap. (*Churchwardens' Accounts.*)
 " *Item, j hersse for the sepulcre and iiij angels thereto.*"
1518. " *iiij Images for the Resurrexion.*"
1485. SOUTHWARK : St. Margaret. (*Churchwardens' Accounts.*)
 " *Items, vi angelles of tre [wood] gylt with a tombe to stande in the sepulture at Ester.*"
1511. LONDON : St. Margaret Pattens : (*Churchwardens' Accounts.*)
 " *Item, twoo Angelles for the Sepulcre.*"

THE MYSTERY PLAY.

At one time this "*Office of the Sepulchre*" took the form of the Mystery Play, the priest representing the risen Christ ; three deacons, the three Marys ; and a boy an angel. Such a realistic performance of the events of the Passion was in mediæval days the chief feature of Holy Week. St. Gregory Nazianzen is said to have written a play on the Passion of Christ to take the place of the old Greek plays, substituting Christian hymns for the Greek chorus ; this was copied with variations, and in the thirteenth century a company was formed in Rome for the express purpose of representing such plays in Holy Week or Corpus Christi.

Similar plays are said to have been known in England before the year 1119, and to have been publicly performed in London in 1180. They were exhibited in churches, monasteries, and churchyards.¹²⁹ We have undoubted survivals of this early dramatic element in the Exeter Cathedral customs for Matins on Christmas night, when a boy in alb and amice with a lighted torch in his hand, took the part of the announcing angel. Standing on the highest step of the altar facing the choir, he sang *Hodie nobis caelorum Rex de Virgine nasci dignatus est*, after which he was joined by six more, and all together sang *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. At Sarum Cathedral on the Feast of All Saints

¹²⁹ Under the date 1672, EVELYN notices the setting up at York House, and Somerset House, our Lord and His disciples, as waxwork figures.

at Matins, five boys representing the five wise Virgins, each in a surplice with an amice, drawn veil-like over his head, and holding a lighted taper in his hand, sang the response *Audiui vocem de coelo dicentem; Venite omnes virgines sapientissimae*. Here also on Palm Sunday "an acolyte in the guise of a prophet" sang the *Prophetic Lesson* after the Gospel at the first Station of the Procession.¹³⁰

Very early, says the *Concordia Regularis*, "before the bells are rung for Matins, let the sacristan remove the cross (from the sepulchre) and restore it to its proper place. . . . Then while the third lesson is being read, let four of the brethren vest, one of whom, wearing an alb only, is to enter the church as if he came for some other purpose, and betake himself unobserved to the sepulchre, where he shall seat himself in silence, holding a palm in his hand. Then, while the third responsory is being sung, the other three shall approach, all attired in copes and carrying in their hands thuribles with incense. Let them advance to the sepulchre step by step, like men who are searching for something; for all this is done to represent the angel seated within the tomb and the women coming with spices to anoint the body of Jesus. And when he who is seated there observes these three drawing near, wandering, as it were, to look for something they have lost, let him begin to chant sweetly in a voice of moderate pitch, *Quem quaeritis?* (Whom seek ye?) Then when he has sung to the last note, let the three answer with one common voice: *Jesum Nazarenum*. To whom he again replies *Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat. Ite nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis*. Then at the sound of this dismissal let all three turn toward the choir saying: *Alleluia, surrexit Dominus* (Alleluia, the Lord is risen). After this he who is seated, calling them back as it were, shall intone the antiphon: *Venite et videte locum* (Come and behold the place).

¹³⁰ *Sarum Processionale*, pp. 50, 51. The prophet appears also in parish church accounts:—

1451. London: St. Mary-at-Hill. (*Church Accounts*.) "Paid to Loreman for playing the p'phet on Palm Sunday, iiij*d*."

At St. Peter-Cheap (1519) "heres" (wigs) were hired "for the p'fetyes;" at St. Mary-at-Hill (1531), "rayment;" at St. Andrew-Hubbard (1520) an angel was hired; in 1535-7 "a Preest and chylde" played a messenger; at All Hallows, Staining, a pair of wings and a crest were hired for the angel [Ritibus 1590 AD.].

As he says this he rises, lifts the curtain and shows them the place now bereft of the cross, with only the linen cloth lying there in which the cross had been wrapped. At this sight they put down behind the sepulchre the thuribles which they had been carrying, then take the linen shroud, spreading it out before all the clergy and while thus as it were displaying it, to show that our Lord is risen and is no longer wrapped therein, they sing the antiphon, *Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro* (The Lord is risen from the tomb), after this they spread the shroud upon the altar."¹³¹

Canon Ulysse Chevalier in his Ordinances of the Cathedral Church of Laon in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, gives an account of the Sepulchre Office at that time and place:—Whilst the bells are ringing for matins, the procession ordered thus before the altar goes to the sepulchre: first two boy-clerks (*clericuli*) with lights, two with thuribles, two deacons, two others to sing "*Dicant nunc*," the cantor and the succentor; all these vested in white copes. The rest follow in order, each one bearing a lighted candle. The aforesaid deacons, coming to the door of the sepulchre, begin: "*Ardens est*." A boy-clerk in the sepulchre: "*Quem queritis?*" The deacons: "*Jhesum Nazarenum*." The boy-clerk: "*Non est hic*." At which the priest vested in a white chasuble, carrying a chalice with the Body of Christ, coming out of the sepulchre, finds at the door four boy-clerks supporting a canopy, under which he walks in front of the procession, the two boy-clerks with lights going before him, and the two with thuribles beside him. Then the aforesaid deacons say: "*Surrexit Dominus vere, alleluia*." Afterwards the cantor and succentor begin that part of the antiphon "*Cum rex glorie Christe advenisti desiderabilis*;" and so singing all go up the nave before the great rood. After the antiphon "*Christus resurgens*" two canons in copes sing the verse, "*Dicant nunc*." After that the procession enters the choir, singing "*Quod enim vivit vivit Deo*." The priest places the chalice on the altar. Meanwhile the bells are rung altogether. The chalice thus placed upon the altar remained so exposed

¹³¹ A ceremony similar in purport to this takes place on Easter Sunday afternoon in St. Peter's Church at Rome. See also DU CANGE, v. *Sepulchri Officium*; MARTENE, *De Antiquis Monachorum Concordia Regularis*. Migne P. L., vol. 137, p. 495.

during matins and at the *Te Deum*, which concluded the office, the priest placed it "*in armariolo*,"¹³²

In the parish churches the play of the "Resurrection of our Lord" would be of a much more simple character. The parish priest with a banner in his hand would take the principal part of the risen Christ, the parish clerk, with certain of the parish, the characters of the angel and the three Marys. Parish clerks always took the principal share and parts in the representation of the "Mysteries." The Household book of the fifth Earl of Northumberland, for the year 1512, mentions the practice :

"*Item, . . . to them . . . that play the play of Resurrection upon Estur day in the mornnyng in my lordis chappell befor his lordshipe, xx.*"

On the eve of the Reformation, about the year 1541, a *Rationale* was drawn up by the English bishops to explain the meaning and to justify the usage of the ancient rites and ceremonies. In this the rite of the Easter sepulchre is stated and expounded as follows :

"And that day (Good Friday) is prepared and well adorned the sepulchre (in remembrance of the sepulchre, which was prophesied by the prophet Esaias to be glorious), wherein is laid the image of the cross, and the most Blessed Sacrament, to signify that there was buried no corpse or body that could be purified or corrupted, but the pure and undefiled body of Christ, without spot or sin, which was never separated from the Godhead. And therefore, as David expresseth in the fifteenth Psalm, it could not see corruption, nor death could not detain, or hold Him, but He should rise again to our great hope and comfort, and therefore the Church adorns it with lights, to express the great joy they have of that glorious triumph over death, the devil, and hell.

"Upon Easter Day in the morning, the ceremonies of His Resurrection are very laudable, to put us in remembrance of Christ's Res-

¹³² See April issue, page 340 note. Will of Dan John Raventhorpe, "*almariolum subtus idem altare*."

CHEVALIER (Canoine Ulysse) *Ordinaires de l'Église Cathédrale de Laon*, XII-XIII century, etc. The simplicity of the early form of these Resurrection plays is seen in an excerpt from an ancient novel often quoted by the old dramatic poets, e.g., Ben Jonson in his *Poetaster*, Act iii, Sc. iv, and his masque of *The Fortunate Isles*. It was "imprynted by Wylliam Copland :'" without date, in 4to, bl. let. among Mr. Garrick's *Old Plays*, K, vol. x.

urrection, which is the cause of our justification. And that as Christ being our head, was the first among the dead which rose never to die again ; so all Christian men being His members, do conceive thereby to rise from death of sin to godly conversation in this life ; and finally, at the day of judgment, when the bodies and flesh of all mankind shall by the operations of God be raised again, to rise with Him to everlasting glory.’”

“Therefore,” says Cranmer’s Articles of Religion, “these laudable customs are not to be condemned and cast away, but continued to put us in remembrance of spiritual things.”

Within a decade of years the ravages of the Reformation had done their work. The Easter Day of 1548 (March 15th—second Edward VI) saw “the Pyx, with the Sacrament in it taken out of the Sepulchre” at Worcester, with singing “Christ is risen” with procession, although on Palm Sunday there had been no palms hallowed and on Good Friday no creeping to the Cross. In the following year, Bishop Blandford’s Diary shows that the end had come: “1549. Good Friday. No Sepulchre, or Service of Sepulchre. Easter Eve. No Paschal Taper, or Fire, or Incense, or Font. On April 23d. Mass, Matins, Evensong, and all other service in English. All Mass Books, Graduals, Pics, Portasses, and Legends, brought to the Bishop and burnt.”¹³³

In the reign of Mary an attempt was made to restore the old order of things, but her death and the accession of Elizabeth again placed them in a position they were in the early years of Edward VI’s reign, when the rite of the Easter sepulchre with other ancient usages and devotions fell into total desuetude.

That the ceremony survives to a certain degree in the modern altar of repose may be admitted. But the difference between the mediæval Easter sepulchre and the present-day altar of repose is a very interesting point, too long to be treated of here.

H. PHILIBERT FEASEY, O.S.B., F. R. Hist. Soc.

Ramsgate, Kent.

¹³³ GREEN : *History of Worcester*, vol. i, p. 127. Among the points objected to Bishop Gardiner when cited before the Council to answer certain articles “written in a paper” in May, 1548, including the maintenance of certain ceremonies in his Cathedral at Winchester during the past Holy Week, was that he had allowed the Easter Sepulchre. Archbishop Cranmer in some “Articles of Enquiry” put forth in August, 1548, asks whether the Easter Sepulchre had been used at the Easter last past.

ECCLESIASTICAL CHARLESTON.

“**O**LD CHARLESTON,” as a friend calls it, is a delightful place to visit. I allude not to its situation on a tongue of land bordered by two rivers, the Ashley and the Cooper, with the beautiful bay over which one looks from the Battery, five miles away to Fort Sumter and the Ocean. In these respects it resembles fair Manhattan, washed by the North and East rivers; but the chief borough of New York City is further in from the sea than is Charleston. I refer not to its political history. No town in the Republic, perhaps, has occupied a more prominent place than this chief city of that commonwealth which was represented in the councils of the nation by Calhoun and Hayne, to mention no others; of that State which in 1832 nullified, or attempted to nullify, certain measures of the general government which it deemed incompatible with its “rights”; of that State which first passed an ordinance of Secession from the Union, and opened the great Civil War on April 12, 1861, by firing on Fort Sumter. Although no student of history can look without intense interest upon this fort on its little island in the middle of the bay, corresponding somewhat with Fort Lafayette in the New York “Narrows,” or visit without stirring emotions this little brave, cultured, proud city, that dared to throw down the gauntlet to big New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, like a bantam-cock challenging so many Shanghais—yet political history is not now my theme: I wish only to set before the widespread readers of *THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW* some notes from the chronicles of the Church in Charleston, coupled with observations made during an occasional visit.

Charleston, comprising to-day the State of South Carolina, is one of the oldest dioceses in the United States, having received its first bishop in 1820. Since then it has had a succession of bishops and priests renowned perhaps above those of any other diocese for learning, eloquence, and classic taste. I need but name our American Bossuet, John England, himself an ex-professor and college president in the Athens of his native Ireland, as well as an ex-parish priest of that town there which “Turk, Jew, or Atheist,” might enter, “but no Papist.” I had it from an old lady in

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., who as a girl knew him, that "he used to baptize the children without taking any money, and so they sent him out to be a bishop in the Savannahs." He was consecrated in Cork, but refused to take the then usual oath of allegiance to the British Crown, saying that as soon as he reached his mission he would apply for citizenship of the Republic. He died in 1842, having ruled at first over the States of South and North Carolina and Georgia, and over the two former during his whole lifetime. His Sermons, Letters, Essays, etc., were published many years ago (1849), in five volumes, and though an abridgment was sent out twenty years since, the original work still commands the price of thirty dollars. Now a word as to his portrait. I knew and admired him, as revealed in history and literature, always, but somehow could never reconcile myself to his alleged physiognomy. For I believe in the "human form divine," especially in the face, the eyes in particular as being "the windows of the soul." Some wretched limner tried, with the best intentions no doubt, to perpetuate his features, and pictured a repulsive, impossible profile of him whom "listening senates" as well as admiring multitudes heard with pleasure. It was a great delight, on my recent visit to his episcopal city, to be shown a picture by Gilbert Stuart, the renowned American painter, in which Bishop England's rich, good-natured, sparkling, intelligent Irish face still lives and breathes on the canvas.

The native spirit of the Bishop is further evidenced from a sentence in a letter of date August 1, 1834, addressed by him to the Very Rev. Paul Cullen (afterwards Cardinal), Rector of the Irish College in Rome, in which after treating of the insidious attempts of the British Government to make Catholic bishops salaried employees of that realm, Bishop England adds:—

"Now I give you fair notice: Do not trust me nor yourself, when either of us comes in contact with a government. These same courts are dirty places, and the old proverb will always continue true, 'He that handles pitch will soil his fingers.' When I returned to Charleston from Hayti" [whither he had been sent a Legate by the Holy See], "the dogs that were set to guard against negroes, began to bark at me, though previously they allowed me to pass."

Another great Bishop of Charleston was Patrick Lynch, a native of South Carolina's backwoods, who saw a priest for the first time when he was twelve years of age. This man was easily the first among his clerical contemporaries as well as among the citizens of his State, in scientific attainments, being also an exact theologian and excellent preacher, as well as a patriot who filled on his side of the dispute about the Federal compact, the same fearless and assertive position occupied on the other by Archbishop Hughes of New York. Bishop Lynch led a martyr's life, for, like all his people, he loved his State and the confederacy she shared in inaugurating, but lived to see her and it trodden in the blood-soaked dust of defeat and its worse consequences. In addition he saw his Catholic people impoverished, his cathedral and convents burnt, other ecclesiastical edifices damaged by shot and shell, his own "Bishop's Bank" ruined. But he was unconquered. Everyone advised him that he was under no obligation to pay his "debts," as the common catastrophe left all in one "ruin upon ruin, rout upon rout, confusion worse confounded." Was it conscience or was it "honor" that moved him? He is reported to have declared that "no one should have it to say that he had trusted the Catholic Church and found her fail him." So he "left his country for his country's good," and preaching, lecturing, and begging throughout the North, collected, I was told, two hundred thousand dollars for his "creditors." It was charity, or *noblesse*, at any rate, if it was not justice.

The Rev. James Corcoran, S.T.D. (Propaganda), a native of Charleston, for many years recognized as our foremost American theologian, was one of the lights of two Plenary Councils, and went to Rome in 1883 with the bishops to help prepare the scheme of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, the greatest Council, except the Vatican, held in the last three centuries. He was a learned, simple, lovable, patriotic priest, who died at Overbrook Seminary, Philadelphia, where, during many years he had aided in building up the learned faculty of that institution.

The Rev. Richard Baker, an Irishman, preached with extraordinary assiduity and esteem for nearly twenty-five years as pastor of St. Mary's, the first church in Charleston, but burnt his sermons before he died.

Bishop Reynolds, the second holder of the see, had been a professor in one of the ablest faculties constituted thus far in our country, that of St. Mary's, Bardstown, Kentucky, of which the Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, afterwards Bishop of Philadelphia and later Archbishop of Baltimore, and so well and favorably known by his works to the theologians of the Vatican Council, was the most conspicuous member.

I shall name others, but it may interest my readers to know that the present Rector of the Catholic University, who as a student at the Propaganda was distinguished for scholarship, and who so many years governed the American College in Rome, was born and brought up, like Bishop Lynch, in the uplands of South Carolina.

The earliest priest known to have visited the region was one Cleary, a Canon of Funchal, Madeira, who died at Newbern, N. C., in 1790, at the home of the mother of Judge Gaston, the Catholic Chief Justice of North Carolina. The King of Spain, on account of the many vessels of that nation then visiting Charleston, proposed locating there a Catholic chaplain, but Bishop England put not his "trust in princes," saying that "ecclesiastics who court the favor of principal or subordinate ministers are not generally the most excellent body." He consented, however, to have the French and Spanish settlers solicit aid from their respective courts for the founding of a church. Those "settlers" were probably merchants and their clerks, men of considerable education; and indeed many persons used to wealth and refinement were doubtless amongst the refugees from the San Domingo revolution who found a home in the city.

The Rev. Simon Felix Gallagher, a priest of Dublin and a graduate of the University of Paris (on either score he may be accounted a man of culture), became pastor of St. Mary's in 1793. Indeed Bishop England tells us that he possessed "extraordinary eloquence, a superior intellect and a finely cultivated mind." Father Gallagher was succeeded by Father De Clorivière, a Breton of ancient and noble ancestry, who for his bravery during the French Revolution was decorated by the legitimate King, and after many vicissitudes of fortune became a priest in the forty-fourth year of his age. He showed great virtue during the

schism in St. Mary's Congregation, and died Superior of the Visitation Convent, Georgetown, D. C.

The Rev. Benedict Fenwick, S.J., ex-president of Georgetown College and afterwards Bishop of Boston, held the pastorate of St. Mary's for six years, saying Mass in a neighboring hall, while he endeavored to bring the revolted parishioners to a sense of their duty.—And so on through the list.

Men such as these, endeavoring to raise their little flock to a respectable place in the midst of the alienated children of the Church (by these I mean the general population, not the occasional schismatics), naturally gave an elevated taste and tone to their people. The example of their neighbors constantly spurred them on, for Charleston was the capital of the proud planters of South Carolina, who, abounding in wealth and cut off from commerce with the Northern States, traded directly with Europe, sent their children to be educated in foreign parts, imported all their house furniture as well as works of art and expensive viands, and naturally took on a classic form and ambition, less common to their fellow-citizens nearer the Pole. Indeed, even at the present day one is struck by the endless profusion of antiques in the way of clocks, caskets, beds, sofas, fireplaces, engravings, table-ware, candelabra, etc., to be found in the Old Curiosity shops of Charleston, though the South has long been exploited for such relics of bygone days. The whole tone was, and is still, to a degree, classic. The architecture shows this in many edifices erected by private individuals and associations, while the Government has built at Charleston a Custom House which is a gem of purest Greek. There is one like it at Norfolk, also pure Corinthian, but it is not so favorably situated as that in the metropolis of South Carolina. Both are well worth the while going far to see. Of course, there are Greek buildings in Washington, and some few of the taste of the middle of the past century are left in New York; but they are not all as well proportioned in size to the cities in which they stand as the buildings in these Southern towns. Besides, we are not naturally nor easily attracted by colossal structures, nor can we love the monstrous any more than Gulliver could admire the presumed beauty of that enormous woman in Brobdnag. A special reason of our enjoyment of

Greek architecture comes from the harmony of the size with the sites of the buildings; and most of our great cities do not offer the advantage of situation which makes the Parthenon sit so well on the Acropolis. Bury it down in Wall Street, New York, and it will lose most of its attractiveness. Now, the small size of Charleston, and the discreet width of its streets, brings the moderate-sized structures into harmony with their surroundings, and goes far to explain the hold they take on a visitor.

Of the classic, more anon. My object now is to discover the source of that culture in word and work and manner, of that taste for ancient as well as modern literature, which has distinguished ecclesiastical Charleston and marks it to-day. In addition to what has been said, I think that the softness of the climate, the few opportunities for gaining money, together with the leisure due to the very slow increase in the number of the faithful, combined with the spirit of the forepart of the nineteenth century, when allusions to Greek and Roman literature, as well as quotations from it, were quite common in Congress as well as in Parliament, had much to do with it. An example: When one of our statesmen, whose name I do not recall, was eulogizing the "Last of the Signers," our beloved Charles Carroll of Carrollton, he described the venerable man, in his ninetieth year, curled up on a lounge, a shawl thrown over his frail, shrunken body: "Quot libras in duce summo!" he exclaimed. I fear that few to-day would understand or appreciate his use of this terse and eloquent phrase of the Roman satirist. If the people of Charleston or of South Carolina had the same chance to make money as those in the North or West have, it may be they would join with the rest in the race for gold. Without prospect of wealth, and having no abject poverty in their State, they wisely practise contentment, and seek the "things of the mind," and the enjoyment of the imagination, so much purer, more lovely, and more lasting.

As I have said, Bishop England had been a professor in Cork, and at once, on reaching his diocese, started a seminary, instruction in which was given by himself and the priests of the town. His "academy" also was for a time very prosperous and influential. In addition he established a periodical, *The Catholic Miscellany*, one of the earliest ventures in this department of the

ministry. Bishop Lynch himself told me that he used to set type for this publication. Dearth of newspapers as well as of novels, and absence of the objectionable mass of literature that tempts us, and consumes so much of our valuable time, and waters our brains to-day, together with the obligation of teaching young men who were likewise free from such distractions, naturally developed acquaintance and familiarity with the Classics, and raised the standard of clerical learning in Charleston higher than it was elsewhere, except at such shrines of the Muses as our Mount Saint Mary's, where similar conditions existed, and which claims several of the living clergymen of this diocese for her sons. At any rate, the effect remains, and the visitor to-day is entertained, refreshed, and charmed with the still unbroken traditions of early days. I will illustrate this further before closing these notes of a traveller.

The St. Mary's Church mentioned is the first temple in which an altar to the Living God was erected in the territory comprised by Georgia, North and South Carolina. The original building was bought on August 24, 1789, one year before the consecration of the first bishop of Baltimore. The present edifice dates from 1838, and is of the Doric style so common in buildings of the period. Even inside to-day the pure white marble altar is unique for simplicity and chasteness, as well as for a feature that seems very praiseworthy—I mean a marble credence table on either side on a level with the platform. The church has had for pastors and assistants nearly all the priests above spoken of, but is unfortunately distinguished for the longest schism in our ecclesiastical history, a schism which caused divine worship to be forbidden within its walls for many years, and which, starting in 1810, came to a climax in 1815, lapsed in 1822, but was not finally extinguished till 1897, under the pastorate of Father Thomas Hopkins, who, coming a stranger to the diocese, was not embarrassed by ties of blood, politics, or custom; and having shown zeal and devotion to the interests of the parish, then at last put an end to the trustee system, a system that has caused much trouble in various dioceses of the United States, but in none more than in Charleston. A detailed account of the unhappy schism will be found in *Shea's History*. Readers who are interested will obtain a clear idea of

this unfortunate affair, by this quotation from the "Memorial" of the pewholders to the Archbishop of Baltimore, dated December 3, 1817:

"Your Memorialists beg leave to hope that in this . . . they require nothing incompatible with the just authority of the hierarchy, and in this hope they find themselves founded . . . by finding it countenanced by the tenth article of the Concordat established between his present Holiness and the consular government of France, in the year 1801. . . . Your Memorialists anxiously look forward to the day when a Concordat shall define and settle the relative religious rights of the sovereign people of the Roman Catholic persuasion in the United States, and of their clergy. Your Memorialists beg leave to suggest to Your Reverence, that the part of the sovereign people of these United States in communion with his Holiness the Pope, as their government interferes not in the matter of religion, think and hold themselves *immediately* entitled to the same benefits and immunities in the irreligious concerns, as are established between the Court of Rome and the Sovereigns of Europe *intermediately* negotiating for the interest and religious liberties of their subjects."

"Ha! dinna ye hear the slogan?" Do you hear the voice of South Carolina? Do you not wonder that Fort Sumter was not fired on forty-four years sooner? However, enough of that.

In connection with this strong self-assertion on the part of the trustees, it is interesting to read of the project for Church government in the United States, laid by Bishop England himself before the Propaganda, in a communication of date June 24, 1824. Indeed the scheme, subscribed by the clergy and most of the laity, had been adopted and was in force in the diocese of Charleston and it was to obtain for it the approval of the Holy See that this letter was written. Chapter VI of the Constitution, as he calls it, runs as follows:

"Every year, on a day and in a place designated by the Bishop, there will be a meeting of the clergy and of select laymen from each congregation to consult with the Bishop on the state of the Church in the diocese. If the clergy desire to consult with the Bishop on ecclesiastical affairs, they will do so apart and in secret. At this meeting statements of moneys, possessions, buildings and revenues will be ren-

dered. The sums received during the year for the general good of the Church will be assigned to the maintenance of the seminary, the erection of schools, the support of missionaries, and to aid the convents and other pious works, the assignment to be made with the consent of the majority of the clergy deliberating separately, and of the majority of the laity deliberating separately, and with the approbation of the Bishop. The Bishop, the Vicar-General, and three priests to be selected by the clergy, and six laymen to be chosen from the laymen present, will manage the funds and the temporalities, and will carry out the regulations made in regard to the latter."

The entire Constitution may be read in Vol. VII, p. 450, of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, where also, p. 487, I found the letter quoted in a previous paragraph. They were discovered in Rome by a missionary of the Propaganda, the Rev. Ferdinand Kittell, at the time archivist for the Society just mentioned, but unfortunately for American History, though happily for the people of Loretto, Pa., no longer filling that scholarly office for which no priest in the United States were better fitted. One reflection I cannot suppress: The educational and social level of the Catholics in Charleston seems to have been higher than elsewhere. Can we imagine the Bishop of Boston at least, of New York or of Philadelphia proposing to establish in 1824 a Lay House to take part in church government?¹

Entering the now sacred and consecrated St. Mary's, one is struck with its order and neatness,—the altar especially, and properly, first holding one's attention. Let artists pass judgment on the harmony between rich Gothic stained glass and Hellenic architecture. I merely allude to the great painting in the middle of the ceiling, executed, at the expense of a number of priests who had been pupils of Dr. Corcoran at Overbrook, as a monument to his memory. What attracted me most were the tombstones set in the pavement bearing the names of deceased pastors, but especially the mural tablets, one of which, recalling the memory and worth of a classmate, and exhibiting the most beautiful specimen of the lapidary epitaphic style with which my travels in this country have made me acquainted, I herewith present:—

¹ Shea, Vol. III, p. 321, who quotes Bishop England's works, Vol. V, p. 91.

"Consummatus in brevi
explevit tempora multa."

MEMORIAE

CLAUDIANI . B. . NORTHROP
DOMO . KAROPOLI . QUI . ECCLES.
HANC . XII . ANNOS . REXIT . INNOCENTIA . VITAE
ET . STUDIO . JUVENTUTIS . AD . PIETATEM
INFORMANDAE . OMNIBUS . CARUS
OBIIT . XI . KAL . OCT. . A. . D. . MDCCCLXXXII
ANNOS . NATUS . XXXVIII . M. . IX . D. . VI.
HAVE . SACERDOS . SANCTE.
CUJUS . IMMATURAM . MORTEM . SI . VOTA
NOSTRA . DEPELLERE . POTUISSENT
SPEM . NOSTRAM . ET . EXPECTATIONEM . TUI
QUAM . VIRTUTE . CONCITAVERAS
SPLENDIDE . SUPERASSES

This gem of Christian epigraphy is from the pen of Dr. Corcoran.

Going out of the sacristy door we find ourselves at once in what is certainly one of the most curious and interesting graveyards in the whole country. Its crowded space, of perhaps eight hundred square feet, has many a different shape of tombstone, the French crib, of which we have a specimen in God's Acre on our "Mountain," being most suggestive and pleasing. Nearly seventy years ago Bishop England wrote of this consecrated spot: "The cemetery, which is now in the centre of the city, affords in the inscriptions of its monuments the evidence of the Catholicity of those whose ashes it contains. You may find the American and the European side by side. France, Germany, Poland, Ireland, Italy, Spain, England, Portugal, Massachusetts, Brazil, New York, Mexico, have furnished those who worshipped at the same altar with the African and Asiatic whose remains are there deposited; during life they were found all professing the one faith, derived from a common source; after death their remains commingle. The family of the Count De Grasse, who commanded the fleets

of France near the Commodore of the United States, and his partner, sleep in the hope of being resurrected by the same trumpet, to proceed from their neighboring beds of earth to the possession of thrones purchased by the blood of their common Redeemer."

The generations of the dead who have since been laid to rest in the cemetery of St. Mary's only serve to emphasize those words of long ago. Priest, levite, and layman, lie side by side, awaiting the coming Resurrection. An almost forgotten slab with scarcely legible letters marks the resting-place of two of the first priests of the diocese of Charleston, the Rev. Godfrey Sheehan and the Rev. John Bermingham. They were both natives of County Cork, in Ireland; both had received Holy Orders in this city, and each died in the 32d year of his age,—Father Sheehan on September 16, 1827, and Father Bermingham on October 23, 1831. Father Bermingham was the first priest ordained in the city of Charleston, by the first bishop of the diocese.

The tomb of Mrs. Mary Watson, who bequeathed the old rectory to the church, is a conspicuous feature. The tomb of the family of Count De Grasse, referred to above by Bishop England, bears at the head a coronet displayed over a shield, with the family coat-of-arms. Its inscription runs thus:—

"Underneath lie interred the bodies of D'lle Amélie Maxime Rosalie De Grasse, deceased on the 23d day of August, 1799; and of D'lle Mélanie Véronique Maxime De Grasse, deceased on the 19th of September, 1799, daughters of the late Francis Joseph Paul, Count De Grasse, Marquis of Tilly, of the former Counts of Provence and Sovereign Princes of Antibes, Lieutenant-General of the Naval Army of His Most Christian Majesty, Commander of the Royal Order of St. Louis, and member of the Military Society of Cincinnati."

As an incident in the celebration of the Centennial of the Battle of Yorktown, at which Count De Grasse had commanded the French fleet, this tomb was carefully restored by the City Council in October, 1881, and on the 19th of that month, having been splendidly decorated with flowers by the ladies of St. Mary's Parish, was visited by thousands of citizens.

Directly across the street from St. Mary's is a very graceful Jewish synagogue, built sideways to the thoroughfare, either as

an assertion of South Carolina individuality and independence, or in order, as we understood, that its chancel-end might be to the east, as in our churches likewise it should properly be.

The Church and the Synagogue! What a wonderful synthesis of Divine Religion! The Old dispensation and the New! Here they are, side by side, yet as far apart as they were nineteen hundred years ago. We gazed long and often at this classic structure, the foundation of which goes back to 1794, while the present pure Doric building dates, like St. Mary's, from the fire of 1838. The Rabbi, a gentleman educated in England and Germany, received us in his pleasant study with democratic courtesy, and made us acquainted with the part the Chosen People had taken in the American Revolution. His synagogue interiorly was like a parlor, very comfortable and tastefully decorated, for the Jews, of course, are well off, and he is publishing through Lippincott a small *edition de luxe* of his *Jews in South Carolina*, at ten dollars a copy.

In the tastily furnished and ornate Church of St. Joseph, not far away, our eye was caught by a mural inscription, evidently from the classic pen of its pastor. It is near the tomb of a priest who, like Dr. Corcoran and Bishop Lynch, was an alumnus of the writer's Alma Mater, the Propaganda, and reads as follows:

JOANNI . JOSEPHO . WEDENFELLER
 SACERDOTI
 QUI . HUIC . AEDI . PRAEPOSITUS
 COMITATE . CONSILIO . VITA
 CIVES . AD . VIRTUTEM . ET . RELIGIONEM
 INSTITUIT
 OBITI . XV . CAL . SEXTILES
 AN . MDCCCXCIX
 AETATIS . AN . XLIII
 PARENTI . OPTIMO . DESIDERATISSIMO
 CURIALES . POSUERUNT.

The cathedral of Charleston is almost completed, and will, it is hoped, be opened for worship within this year. It is a fine structure, suited in size to the little city, and as an architectural work sustains the reputation of that artist who, to our mind, has

not received of the American public a tithe of the fame and revenue he deserved and earned—I mean the author of those splendid edifices, the Cathedrals of Hartford, Albany, Boston, Providence, Pittsburg, etc., and of the perfect Church of St. Mary, Norfolk—Patrick Keeley. Charleston Cathedral, of which the present building is a reproduction, was destroyed in that sad year 1861, and nothing was done toward replacing it till twenty years later, when John McKeegan's bequest of \$50,000 became available, and the work was begun. By 1893 about \$117,000 had been laid out, and work was suspended till a short time since, when the prudent authorities had collected enough to warrant further advance. Nothing is to be seen as yet in the interior except the light, airy proportions; but we admired the size and situation of the sacristy, which is, as it were, an extension of the sanctuary to the rear, and measures 30 x 60 feet. The walls of the church are of brown freestone, indented with star-shaped cuts to lessen the destructive action of the weather. In this mild climate, however, it is to be hoped that the material will prove enduring in its beauty. We pray that God may grant the typical South Carolina prelate, who has borne so large a share in the sorrows of his people, the happiness of dedicating with them this beautiful temple, which their generosity, aided by that of their Northern brethren, will have freed from debt, and of presenting it to God the Father "like a bride adorned for her consort," a type of the "glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but holy and without blemish," the fair Bride of Christ, His Eternal Son.

In a corner of the lot surrounding the Cathedral is buried a veteran missionary of the diocese, and we venture to present the inscription on his tomb, redolent as it is of appreciation of his simple noble character, as well as classic in its elegance :

HEIC . IN . PACE . CHRISTI . QUIESCIT
TIMOTHEUS . BIRMINGHAM
NAT . HIBERNUS
VICARIA . POTESTATE . IN . ECCLES . CAROLOPOLITANA
FUNCTUS . ANNOS . VI
VIR . ANTIQUAE . SANCTITATIS
ET . DE . RELIGIONE . PER . CAROLINAM . AUSTRALEM . ET

GEORGIAM . OPTIME . MERITUS . CATHOLICI . NOMINIS
 PROPAGANDI . ANIMARUMQUE . JUVANDARUM
 STUDIOSSISSIMUS . OMNIBUS . OB . PIETATEM . MORES
 ILLIBATOS . ET . CANDOREM . ANIMI . INCOMPARABLEM
 MAXIME . ACCEPTUS . QUI . AETATE . AC . LABORIBUS
 CONFRACTUS . NEO-EBORACI . QUO . VALETUDINIS . CAUSA
 RECESSERAT . IMPROVISA . MORTE . ABREPTUS . AT . NON
 IMPARATUS . AD . SUPEROS . EVOLAVIT . PRID . NON . JUN.
 ANNO . REP . SAL . MDCCCLXXII . ANNO . AET . SUAE . LXXV
 EXUVIIS . DOMUM . TRANSLATIS . ET . HEIC . TUMULATIS
 AMICI . MOERENTES
 HONORIS . PIETATISQUE . CAUSA
 MONUMENTUM . CUM . TITULO
 FACIUNDUM . CURARUNT
 AVE . AC . VALE . ANIMA . PIENTISSIMA
 NOSTRIQUE . MEMOR . APUD . DEUM . SIES

There are in Charleston, as in every American town, a number of church edifices proportioned to the great and always increasing number of religious sects. Some of these, besides the synagogue above described, are of pretty, quaint, composite architecture, and very interesting historically: St. Michael's, for instance, and St. Philip's. The former has a very fine representation in stained glass of the Prince of the Heavenly Court, but tourists visit it as much or more for its antiquity, as things go with us, and to see how, in the earthquake of 1886, the tower settled half a foot into the earth, so that one has now to step up on entering the building. As the earthquake is mentioned, we may record that many Catholic churches, institutions, and residences were injured, and the Bishop, who has but eight^{or} thousand persons owning his authority in the whole diocese, appealed to his fellow Catholics in the North for aid, and with such success that some wag suggested that another earthquake, if they "could get one up," would bring the Cathedral to completion.

Before closing this account of my visit, it will interest my readers to know, if they have never heard or, having heard, have forgotten, that this singular old town is the alleged home of the Luciferian Cult—they show you the "temple," on the main street—and was publicly proclaimed as such some years since by Leo

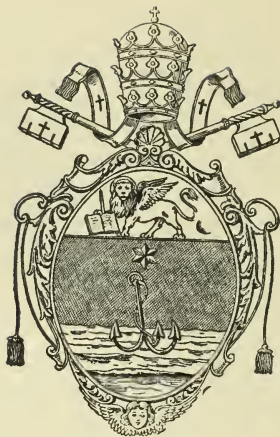
Taxil, the manager for "Diana Vaughan." Imagine the astonishment, mingled with amusement and a certain amount of indignation, of the local Catholic clergy, when asked by the editor of that great journal, *L'Univers*, of Paris, whether these things were so. The upshot was a communication, purporting to have been sent out by the Bishop of Charleston, scouting the absurd fake, and defending the citizens of his native and beloved city from so senseless and malignant a calumny. What are we to think of those French abbés and their English analogues who swallowed this wretched fable, and wrote extensively in the French journals, and even in the sober columns of the London *Tablet*, defending their belief in the "revelations" of Taxil? The *dénouement* was comical, if also somewhat shameful. Taxil hired a hall in Paris, and announced that on a certain day he would actually bring forward and exhibit the flesh-and-blood Priestess of Lucifer to the hungry gaze of the excited abbés. He himself appeared before the straining eyes of the crowded auditory, rehearsed the entire story of "Diana" and its reception in different parts of Christendom, and at length declared in purest Parisian that it was all a joke, and as for Diana Vaughan, "*C'est moi-même, Messieurs.*" (*Bruits, rumeurs.*) Imagine the effect! I do not recall now how he left the hall, but France is not Arizona or even South Carolina, and although there were many vociferous expressoins of abomination, detestation, anger, etc., etc., and much wielding of umbrellas and shaking of hats, it seems that the mountebank escaped alive. Still no doubt many over there still cling to the fable, and assume a tone of mystery and horror when they hear the name of Charleston, a word which may be destined to be a synonym for *Sheol* in the most elegant of modern languages.

And so I bade goodbye to this interesting town, with so much that is unique and attractive in its character, as well as in the marked individuality of its people, of its clergy, its buildings, its situation, and its history. A town that recalls one of those of ancient Greece with its climate, its easy carelessness, its attachment to its own soil, its delight in its heroic past, its love of art and of letters, its contempt of Mammon. I could not help thinking that if Cardinal Newman had visited Charleston, he would find in the world of to-day a place by which to illustrate

his "Student Life in Athens," for I think Charleston an ideal place to cultivate the true, the noble, the beautiful, the æsthetic. My clerical companion and host understood well how to produce a pure and deep and lasting impression, for he took me to walk on a darksome evening along the quiet, empty streets; past the modest "shrine of Lucifer," and the historic spires of St. Michael; under the shadow of the yet unfinished cathedral; by the exquisite little lake that, fed by the tide, though in the heart of the city, twice each day is empty and twice refilled with fresh and sparkling water; along by the dwellings of the patrician families once wealthier than now, but always educated and cultured, each with a residence quite individual in style, shape, position, size, heraldic emblems, gates, walls, verandahs, gardens and surroundings, but all showing a taste and elegance that was a delight to see. There was not much money there as compared with the commercial capitals of the North, but there were tradition, legitimate family pride, taste, and personal independence. It was Athens revived in America; it was the metropolis of historic South Carolina. Next morning I strolled along those same streets with a student, and saw here and there evidences of lack of means or latitudinal carelessness in the absence of paint, etc., but the Battery was close by, and as we sauntered along its well-kept paths, enjoying the view of the ocean, I was slightly amused at seeing a great cannon mounted on the sea-wall, with an inscription recounting how this was "one of the guns that had been fired on Fort Sumter at the opening of the war for the Independence of the South." Meanwhile, some clerically attired philosophers of the schools of the Sophists took their morning constitutional among the grass-plots and fountains and statuary of this lovely park, even as many of the spiritual forebears of Catholic Charleston used to do, and we ourselves, in happy youth, amongst the natural and artistic beauties of the Pincio.

EDWARD MCSWEENEY.

Mount St. Mary's, Maryland.



Analecta.

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS.

I.

GRATULATUR PONTIFEX RECTORI COLLEGII AMERICANI SEPTENTRIONALIS OB PROPECTUM IN STUDIIS SACRARUM DISCIPLINARUM.

Dilecto Filio Thomae Kennedy Pontificiae Domus Antistiti Rectori Urbani Collegii Pro Alumnis Foederatarum Americae Civitatum.

PIUS PP. X.

Dilecte Fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem:

Quum, haud ita pridem, te, una cum Alumnis tuo regimini creditis, admissione Nostra donavimus, placuit testari coram amplissimis verbis qua existimatione quaque benevolentia Collegium vestrum prosequeremur. Et merito id quidem. Videramus enim, ex annuo in scholis periculo stataque praemiorum distributione, sic alumnos istos in disciplinarum sacrarum studia incubuisse strenue, ut tulisse primas laetarentur. Aliunde vero non ignorabamus diligentiae huic in sacris excolendis doctrinis parem

esse et disciplinae servandae constantiam et exercendae pietatis ardorem. Libet igitur iterum per litteras gratulari tibi, qui egregie Rectoris munere fungeris; gratulari simul alumni omnibus, qui optime industriis tuis obsecundant. Crescat, hoc plane optamus et ominamur, crescat adolescentium numerus, qui ex Americae foederatis Civitatibus huc transmeent, catholicam sapientiam in ipso Fidei centro apud Cathedram Beati Petri Apostolorum Principis hausturi. Equidem ex vestro Collegio, ut multa apud vestrates in Religionis utilitatem provenisse scimus, sic ampliora in posterum proventura confidimus. Hoc ut eveniat, tibi, Dilecte Fili, tuisque in Collegio moderando adiutoribus nec non alumni singulis apostolicam benedictionem, caritatis Nostrae pignus et munerum divinorum auspicem amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXVII Februarii Anno MDCCCCV.

Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

PIUS PP. X.

II.

PIUS X CAECILIANAE SOCIETATI GERMANICAE, DE MUSICA SACRA OPTIME MERITAE, GRATES ET HORTAMENTA REPENDIT.

PIUS PP. X.

DILECTE FILI¹ SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Non parum delectati sumus eis litteris quas tu, dilecte Fili, ceterique istius Societatis Caecilianae moderatores, quum in unum de more convenissetis, at Nos proxime dedistis. In his placuere expressa animi vestri sensa erga Nos grati ob laudes, sane meritas, quibus, ad Dilectum Filium Nostrum Cardinalem Archiepiscopum Coloniensem rescribendo, vos ornavimus: in eisdem vero novum testimonium vestri in Apostolicam Sedem obsequii observantiaeque perplacuit. Quod ceteroqui obsequium quum exploratum Nobis sit, non minus quam vestra et doctrina et peritia et sedulitas, omnino confidimus fore ut quae de cantu gregoriano et de sacro musicae genere praescrispsimus, vobis adiu-

¹ Rmo Francisco Xaverio Haberl.

toribus, apud vestrates ii omnes, quos optamus, consequantur fructus.—Auspicem divinorum munerum ac paternae Nostrae benevolentiae testem tibi, dilecte Fili, societatique Caecilianae universae Apostolicam benedictionem amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die X Novembris anno MDCCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

PIUS PP. X.

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE CONCILII.

DISPENSATUR AD TRIENNII AB APPLICATIONE MISSAE PRO POPULO IN DIEBUS FESTIS SUPPRESSIS, ET PERMITTITUR PERCEPTIO ELEEMOSYNAE PRO SECUNDA MISSA, ETC.

Beatissime Pater,

Episcopus Metensis S. V. quae sequuntur, devotissime exponit : Post restaurationem cultus catholici initio saeculi XIX, ab Episcopo Metensi in aedibus conventus quondam Eremitarum S. Augustini in oppido Bitensi (vulgo Bitsch nuncupato) consentiente Municipio loci, cui post spoliationem rerum sacrarum in Gallia proprietas dicti conventus attributa fuerat, instauratum est pium Institutum a S. Augustino nuncupatum, ad informandos litteris et pietate pueros qui clericali militiae nomen dare intendebant. Lapsu vero temporis vetustate collabuntur aedes conventus S. Augustini, quin ab Episcopo potuerint refici, cum sint proprietas Municipii, et insuper propter vetustatem vix opportune refici queant. Gubernium etiam civile iterum atque iterum ab Episcopo petivit, ut nova domus aedificaretur Instituti necessitatibus et scholarum usui magis accommodata. Episcopus igitur necessitate coactus, statuit in territorio eiusdem oppidi novam ex toto aedem erigere, quae omnino respondeat scopo Instituti. Huius autem domus aedificandae impensae computantur ad fere 800,000 francorum summam, quibus solvendis aerarium dioecesanum omnino impar est. Porro eum in finem intendit Orator Episcopus annuam collectam in sua Dioecesi indicare et sperat fore ut fideles libenter ad iuvenes clericos informandos pecuniam conferant.

Ulterius autem a S. V. postulat ut sibi facultas concedatur,

qua Parochis et caeteris sacerdotibus Dioecesis concessio fiat: (1) accipiendi stipendium pro secunda missa, quam diebus dominicis et festis pro necessitate populi plures sacerdotes celebrant; (2) accipiendi stipendium et applicandi missam ad intentionem offerentis diebus festis suppressis, loco applicationis missae *pro populo*, cum onere in utroque casu integrum stipendium sic acceptum sive missae lectae sive missae cantatae transmittendi ad Episcopum pro reaedicando praefato pio Instituto, retentis solummodo si quae sint iuribus casualibus seu parochialibus, simulque supplicat ut S. V. de thesauro Ecclesia supplere dignetur pro missis *pro populo* sic non applicatis.

Die 11 Novembris 1904, Sacra Congregatio Conc. Tridentini Interpres, auctoritate SS.mi Domini Nostri Pii PP. X, attentis expositis licentiam dispensandi parochos ab applicatione missae *pro populo* in diebus festis suppressis, ad effectum de quo in precibus, nec non licentiam permittendi perceptionem eleemosynae secundae missae, ut integra erogetur ad eundem finem, Episcopo Metensi Oratori benigne ad triennium tantum impertita est.

† VINCENTIUS, *Card. Ep. Praenest., Praef.*

Studies and Conferences.

OUR ANALECTA.

The Roman documents for the month are :

LETTERS OF POPE PIUS X : (1) To the Right Rev. Monsignor Thomas F. Kennedy, D.D., Rector of the American College, Rome, congratulating him on the proficiency of the students of the College ; (2) To the Rev. Francis Xavier Haberl, commending the German Cecilian Society's work for the cultivation and spread of approved Church music.

S. CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL gives to the Bishop of Metz (Alsace-Lorraine) for three years the faculty of dispensing the pastors of his diocese from the application of the Mass *pro populo* on abrogated feast-days, as well as permission to allow the acceptance of a stipend for the second Mass. Besides limiting the privilege to three years, the S. Congregation lays stress on the condition under which the faculty is granted,—namely, that the funds are to be applied to the building of a theological seminary.

THE BOYS' CHOIR.

Editor of THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW :

I have read with considerable interest the admirable papers on Chancel Choirs by Professor Finn and Mr. O'Brien, in the March and April numbers of the REVIEW. May I be permitted to say a few words concerning the work which is being done at St. Vincent's in Boston ?

We have a splendid organization of fifty boys and men. In our practices we say little or nothing about registers. We have found from experience that by having the boys sing softly *all* the time in their vocalizes the "break" in the voice disappears very soon. The best authorities seem to incline to the doctrine that the head voice should be carried as low as possible, and the lower the better ; and if it can be carried downward through the entire compass of the voice, the result is most effective, as has been amply proved at St. Vincent's.

Our boys have become so proficient in the production of the head

voice that a clear, round tone is easily produced on *A* flat above the staff, and it is only a question of a few months' additional practice when they will be able to take a "high C." While the average chancel or sanctuary choir must either lower the pitch of the music, or at least confine the compass of the music to the limits of the five lines of the staff, we are able, at St. Vincent's, through our frequent and persistent practices on head tones, to increase the brilliancy of our music by pitching certain tunes from one to two tones higher than written. As an instance of this, I may mention that the two processionals we have prepared for Easter are written in *G*, but we have transposed them to *B* flat, and this notwithstanding the fact that they are to be sung, as all our music is, *a capella*.

I do not speak of these things in the spirit of egotism, but only to emphasize that what we have done can be done in any city parish, and in most country parishes. There must, however, be an intense interest in the work on the part of the choir, choirmaster, and pastor. The results at St. Vincent's could never have been obtained without the inspiring and indefatigable interest of our pastor, the Rev. George J. Patterson.

Fully ninety per cent., I should say, of the average boys in our Catholic schools are susceptible to the scientific training of the voice, provided they have a true, musical ear.

Apropos of the exclusive use of head tones, and of their effect upon the brilliancy of the music, I would say that the New York City St. John's Chapel (Episcopal), where the head voice is used entirely, has had for many years one of the very best and most noted of the many splendid "boy" choirs in that city. The singing of Mr. Le Jeune's boys—and I have heard them many times during the past two decades—cannot be criticised for lack of brilliancy. Writing on this subject, Mr. G. Edward Stubbs, organist and choirmaster of St. Agnes' Chapel (Episcopal), New York City, says: "A more fatal mistake cannot be made than that of strengthening the lower notes by the retention of more or less 'thick' (chest) quality. The 'break' should not be merely smoothed, modified, or lessened—it should be *eradicated*. This cannot be accomplished by any compromise system of training which aims at securing the purity of the upper register *and* the reedy timbre of the lower."

I am familiar with the Gregorian Chant, having made a study of it for years, but I am not aware that it presents any difficulty of rendition to the boy voice trained entirely in the head register. The

advantage of the head quality throughout the entire compass of the voice is that of securing that beautifully soft effect so much desired in the boy voice, and that devotional quality which tends to give to the music of the Church the *sursum corda* character, which all choir-masters should ever strive for.

I cannot agree with my friend, Mr. O'Brien, in regard to the necessity of embodying organist and choirmaster in one man. Mr. O'Brien says that there are "subtle ways which, indeed, he (the organist) cannot explain himself, but by which with his fingers on the keys he can so wield his singers as to produce any desired impression upon their minds." If the music has been prepared with proper care and constant practice, the desired impression will be indelibly fixed in the minds of the youthful choristers long before they take their places in the choir stalls.

And further: "In these day of opportunity for the able organist he should not be content to be merely a mechanical automaton while the choirmaster holds the authority and represents the greater brains of the combination." The average Catholic organist needs a strong arm over him to keep him from "drowning" the singers. I have in mind a "boy" choir which I heard recently in a Catholic church, where the little fellows were made to shout themselves hoarse so that, apparently, the organist might have ample opportunity and full scope to show off the "loud" effects of the really magnificent organ over which he presided. In this choir, the boys' voices trembled on an *F* (fifth line), and the chanting was one long execrable shout.

At the Westminster Cathedral, in London, the organ is subordinated to the singing, and the *a capella* is used a great deal. I think an ideal chancel choir would be one where the processional, recessional, and Proper were sung *a capella*, and the Ordinary with modified organ accompaniment.

I hope I have not intruded too much upon your valuable space. I wish you could hear all of the many words of praise the articles you have already printed have called forth in this neighborhood.

ALBERT BARNES MEYERS,

Choirmaster, St. Vincent's Sanctuary Choir.

Roxbury, Mass.

ORATION OR PRAYER?

Qu. I have read many pages of the REVIEW or years, and there is one word which you use so constantly that I feel called on to ask

your attention to its use. "Oration" is the word used, instead of the good word "prayer."

According to my dictionary, "oration" means a carefully prepared and delivered discourse. If it ever means a prayer, I do not find such a meaning for the word. "The Prayers, The Secrets, and The Last Prayers" are good transliterations of *Orationes, Secreta, et Post-communiones*,—at least, I think so. May I ask you kindly not to give your readers any more "English as she is wrote," with "Orations" as an example?

ARTHUR M. CLARK.

Resp. We shall have to get a new dictionary. The *Century*, we had thought, was up to date. It says: *Oration*: (1) A formal speech, discourse, etc.; (2) A prayer, supplication, petition (quotes an illustration from Sir P. Sidney).

But even with such refurbishing of our ancientness, it is to be feared that we shan't change our benighted ways; the habit is too strong. Furthermore, while it may be admitted that the use of *oration* in the sense of *prayer* is somewhat obsolete in the modern parlor, it is not so in ecclesiastical circles. For the cleric it has a special significance, denoting the *liturgical* prayer as distinct from the prayer of supplication. This fact would be properly emphasized in a good dictionary, if, as it should, it took account of Catholic usage, since usage need not be universal in order to become the law of language.

If our literary dictionary makers occasionally omit to honor ecclesiastical terminology, or declare it obsolete, the practice is an outcome of that silent conspiracy which ignores Catholic claims in literature no less than in history and statecraft. Strangely enough, we will find that Anglican ecclesiastical terminology is often recognized where it suits the English High Church to retain the old terms of the Roman liturgy. Thus, touching this very word "oration," we find in Storemonth's *Dictionary of the English Language*, revised by Phelps, in accordance with the authority of Professor Skeat, of Cambridge, and the late Max Müller, of Oxford, that under its mention of *preces* it treats *orationes* (pronounced *orashiones*) as an English word, and defines it as "petitions said by the priest alone, the people answering only 'Amen.'"

THE STIPEND FOR FUNERAL MASSES.

Qu. In the August number of the REVIEW (1904), you gave the text of the decree *De Observandis et Evitandis in Missarum Manualium Satisfactione*. If I read aright, it seems to be the intention of the Sacred Congregation to have this decree observed *in toto*.

Now, in our diocese there exists a custom, of some years' standing, to take five or ten dollars, as the case may be, for a funeral Mass; to have one of the assistant priests celebrate the Mass, give him one dollar, whilst the pastor retains the balance, or gives a portion to the church. As pastor of a parish with assistants I now want to know whether such a custom may still be followed in face of what is contained in Article IX of the decree; or would the censures enumerated in article XII be incurred by the adherents of such a custom.

I may add that it has been explained to the faithful that the five or ten dollars is the stipend for the Mass in question.

Resp. The decree referred to speaks of the *stipendium manuale* which goes with the ordinary intention of the Mass as fixed by diocesan statute or general custom. This stipend is distinct from the *taxa* or *perquisite* allowed for parochial functions, such as funerals, marriages, etc., in which Mass is as a rule celebrated. The division of the stipend (in form of parochial perquisite) depends upon the diocesan authorities and is regulated in various ways according to local conditions. It is not necessary that the whole amount offered by the donor who engages the service should go to the celebrant of the Mass, but there ought to be a uniform and recognized law of apportionment on an equitable basis sanctioned by the Ordinary or Synod, and embodied in the *Statuta Dioecesana*.

CATHOLIC SPONSORS AT PROTESTANT BAPTISMS.

In a review of Noldin's *Theologia Moralis* (ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW for April, page 434), it was incidentally stated that neither Konings nor Sabetti discusses the question which is of much importance in missionary countries, namely, whether Catholics may lawfully act as sponsors to children when baptized by a Protestant minister. A correspondent writes to us to point out that the above-mentioned authors, in the Tract *De Fide*, refer to the Decree of the Holy Office prohibiting such practice. We hope to deal with the subject in detail at a more opportune time, since lack of space forbids here.

MASS FOR DECEASED PROTESTANTS.

Qu. Would you in the issue of the REVIEW for May, kindly reply to these queries of a subscriber ?

1. Can Mass be said for a deceased Protestant ?

2. Can a person presumably a Protestant, such, *e. g.*, as the late Queen of England, obtain the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist, once a year, by going to a church outside the district, for extraordinary reasons, in order to belong to the soul of the Church ?

The report, assumed by some to be founded on fact, was that Queen Victoria made a visit each year to France, to comply with the obligations of Holy Church, belonging, therefore, to the Church, though in her official capacity not manifesting it in England.

Resp. Mass as an act of simple intercession may be offered for any person, living or dead, who is not known to be beyond the pale of Gods, redeeming mercy. Unless we have a sure revelation—which no one has a right to claim for himself—we may not assume of any person, Protestant or infidel included, that at their dying moment the redeeming grace of Christ through a silent act of repentance was denied them. Therefore we are free to believe that intercessory prayer and the Mass will benefit them.

But while we are at liberty to assume this for ourselves and offer our prayers or the Mass in their behalf, we may not call upon the Church in her solemn or public function to attest this assumption or belief in the case of a person who *outwardly* gave testimony that he or she did *not* belong to the Church, whatever the inward disposition, of which God alone judges, may have been. For the Church is a visible communion standing for the *external profession of faith*; and as she solemnizes Mass for those who belong to her outward communion, although they may be faithless at heart, so she excludes from her public solemnities those who do not belong to her outward communion, although they may die in God's pleasure, not having known the Catholic truth. Hence the celebration of solemn Mass is not allowed in the latter case, for that celebration is more than an intercessory act: it is a public profession that the deceased was in union with the outward communion of the Church militant.

As to the supposed action of Queen Victoria, we must confess that the hypothesis seems to us wholly unlikely. It might

indeed be admitted that circumstances involving the peace of a great nation and the temporal rights of those dependent upon her position as Queen of England, would justify her in not making a public profession of faith by which she would have forfeited the throne and probably created revolution, and increased antagonism to the Catholic subjects of the realm; but no such reason could have permitted her to profess at the same time the Protestant faith by outward acts of adherence to the National Church, such as we fancy are required from an English sovereign. That would be, not merely to dissemble the truth for the sake of charity, but to simulate falsehood for the sake of an earthly prerogative, which is never lawful for king or for beggar.

EMBLEMS OF MOURNING AT FUNERAL MASSES.

Qu. Be pleased to state in the REVIEW what emblems of mourning may be used on the altar at a funeral Mass.

Resp. The *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* (Lib. II, cap. xi) states that the altar at funeral celebrations is to be without ornaments of any kind, except the crucifix and six candlesticks. The cloths used for covering, and on the altar floor, are to be black (unless the Blessed Sacrament is in the tabernacle, in which case the latter is shrouded in purple), but there are to be no images of the dead, skulls, or white crosses.

FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES.

To the Editor of THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW:

The article of the Rev. Dr. Heuser in the February number covers the point which needed just the explanation and lucid recommendation it gives,—that is, the position of the clergy toward Federation.

In reading the report of the Fiftieth Katholikentag held in Cologne, Germany, I find that some of the speakers there touched upon the origin and accomplishments of the fifty years of Catholic organization in Germany. Right here I desire to state that in one respect conditions in Germany were similar to ours, namely, the nationality question. In Germany they had Bavarians, Prussians, Württembergers, Westphalians, and the rest,—each with their own

peculiar viewpoint, and each possessed of prejudices just as great as we must contend with here between the Poles, Bohemians, Germans, Irish, Italians, etc. This same problem seemed as great an obstacle in the beginning of Federation in Germany as it does to us now.

It should be said that that organization was not begun when absolute self-preservation demanded it. Long before the *Kulturkampf* began, effort and labor had for years been spent in organizing, thereby bringing the different people (laymen and clergy) together.

The history of this movement in Germany shows that it had a humble start, and met with opposition, based usually, even practically without exception, on reasons advanced by men who had not given the movement study or who were faint of heart and doubted its accomplishing its aims. The opposition that Federation meets here is the same, and remarkable to a degree is the fact that, wherever Federation is given a hearing and explained, clergy and laity have at once responded.

Now, some one may say, "But over there the Catholics were able to go into practical politics owing to their numerical strength." True, yet no one will contend that, if there had not been organization, the *Centrum* could have arisen and grown in power. For if this contention is tenable, why is France in such a pitiable position to-day? No organization had, to say the least, accomplished this much in Germany when the *Kulturkampf* came: first, the hierarchy, clergy, and laity were not strangers to each other, having met in convention year after year; secondly, knowing each other, men fit for leadership were known to laymen and clergy; and third, laymen and clergy had faith in those leaders, thus producing Reichensperger, Mallinckrodt, Windhorst, Lieber, Moufang, *et al.* I have no doubt that there are in France to-day men as fearless and as able as these German leaders just mentioned, if they were known. Unity of mind, intent and purpose, which can only be brought about by Federation, is unhappily lacking.

All who are actively interested in Federation and comprehend its possibilities know only too well that we are still in a formative condition. In a conversation with Archbishop Quigley the ideal Federation was outlined by him to be not a Federation of Catholic societies, but a Federation of Catholic parishes where every member of the parish will be a member of the Federation. This is my conception of an actual Federation. However, until that time comes, it were folly not to make use of the material we have, namely, our societies; hence the

need of the Federation of Catholic Societies until we have a Federation of Catholics, or, better, a "Catholic Federation."

The desire of the Detroit Convention to have parish and diocesan representation together with representation from the united societies at the present time is a step leading to this end.

And, lest it be forgotten, permit me to say that Federation is an attempt to comply with the repeated pleas for active coöperation on the part of laymen, uttered by leading prelates and priests for years from the pulpit and in the Catholic press. It is in line with the wish of the late Holy Father, Leo XIII, surely a sound authority and a sufficient endorsement for its organizers. That the men who have launched Federation were forced to labor so hard and have only through brave, persistent and patient effort up to the present effected but a beginning, is due largely to the indifference of our clergy. Some of them to-day are under the impression that Federation is a new society. If they would only spend a little time and effort they would soon discover that Federation is not a new society; that it is simply the forum upon which all Catholic societies and parishes can assemble to learn one from the other; that it is a means to weld together all Catholic societies and parishes into one grand Catholic union, broad, active, and solid.

We need the clergy in this movement, not primarily to hold the offices, but to assist and aid by counsel and example. The fact that our advisory board is composed of members of our Hierarchy proves that the movement is conservative to a degree. Because priests take an active interest in its affairs, it does not follow that Federation is not a layman's organization. The late Holy Father wisely said that this age will be that of a lay apostolate, therefore I have no fear that the priests by reason of their position will even attempt to take the leadership in their hands.

Because of the spirit formerly existing (mentioned by Dr. Heuser) which created the feeling among the clergy of restraining, in some instances of refusing to permit, lay influence in matters which affect the Church, it is desired that they come into the Federation, where they will discover laymen able and prepared to do work which is necessary. Further, they will learn that there are laymen who desire the welfare of the Church actuated by pure and disinterested motives.

Finally, the example that the clergy can give us laymen *by obliterating racial and national lines among themselves* is inestimable. It assists in removing the prejudices based on misunderstandings among

the laymen, and, last but not least, gives encouragement and strength to the laymen who have overcome and progressed beyond these lines.

When the *Kulturkampf* had run its course and self-preservation no longer demanded Catholic organization, the Germans did not rest on their oars ; they continued to improve and increase their organization.

They are to-day just as active as during the 'seventies, and more enthusiastic than ever. There the clergy play an important part, and because the priest is the father of his parish it is natural that he must be interested or his people will be apathetic. This fact is *known and recognized* in Germany, and *not sufficiently known and recognized* in America. Therefore Dr. Heuser's article is most valuable—it shows a thorough understanding of conditions, and its counsel is golden. We all thank him for it most heartily.

M. F. GIRTEN,

President, Cook County, Illinois Federation.

Chicago, Ill.

Ecclesiastical Library Table.

RECENT BIBLE STUDY.

I. **Exploration and Discovery.**—The recent items connected with exploration and discovery may be classified under three heads :

1. **Dr. Peters and Professor Hilprecht.**—When these lines reach the reader he will no doubt be fully acquainted with the issue of the amicable entanglement between Dr. Peters and Professor Hilprecht which has startled the world during the latter winter months. In 1900 Professor Hilprecht was Director of the expedition to Nippur undertaken under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania. He claimed to have discovered a large temple library among the ruins of the ancient city. But for the period of the past five years he has not published a single specimen of its contents. He did describe, however, two tablets in an American publication, and two more in a German work, which he represented as belonging to the temple library. Dr. Peters took exception to this claim. He maintained that the former two tablets had been purchased under his own directorship some eleven years before the alleged discovery of the temple library, and that they did not come from Nippur at all. Furthermore he maintained that the second pair of tablets had also been either purchased or found under his own leadership of the expedition about ten years before Professor Hilprecht's alleged discovery. What wonder then that the world of specialists began to doubt the existence, or at least the discovery, of the temple library? The collection unearthed by Professor Hilprecht might well be a room of tablets containing business transactions; and the name of such tablets is legion. It would be unfair to pronounce at this early date either in favor of or against either side of the entangled parties. The occurrence shows, however, that the work of even the most prominent of our scholars is closely watched by their competitors. Mere theories may be false and maintain their field for many years; errors of fact are soon brought to light.

2. Old Testament Material.—Ira Maurice Price gave us last year a most interesting account of the results of the French excavations in Persia, Babylonia, Northern Africa, and Egypt.¹ The sketch is too brief, however, to be really useful. Fr. V. Scheil gave a more satisfactory account of the "Excavations made by the French in Susa and Babylonia, 1902-1903," in an article contributed to the *Biblical World*.² The author writes with equal interest and authority; does he not describe what goes on under his own eyes? "The recent finds," we are told, "have in fact furnished more than two hundred pieces of unknown writing having apparently no connection with the already known Babylonian system of writing. We are concerned in these with signs chiefly geometrical, originally such or having become such from the use of clay, as it happened in the case of Babylonian hieroglyphics. In spite of the great antiquity which these new finds reveal, they reveal to us the end of an evolution of numberless years." The Elamitic inscriptions betray a hoary antiquity indeed; and still Fr. Scheil believes that Elam has borrowed from Chaldea.

Robert Francis Harper is the Director of the Expedition of the Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago. The work is carried on in Bismya under Dr. Edgar J. Banks as Field Director. Bismya is a very large ruin, only Nippur, Warka, and perhaps Babylon surpassing it in extent. Its height does not exceed twelve metres, but it is considerably higher than Telloh, Fara, and other ruins where excavations have been successfully made. The finds have been quite satisfactory, though not extraordinary either in extent or contents. An interesting account of the whole enterprise has been contributed by Robert Francis Harper to the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*³ and to the *Biblical World*;⁴ the writer gives the report of Dr. E. J. Banks. —Excavations in Syria and Palestine have not been neglected. L. Jalabert contributes to *Al-Masrik*⁵ a running report concerning the more important finds, entitled "Bulletin of Recent Archæological Discoveries in Syria." Some of the results of Phœnician

¹ The French in the Orient, *Biblical World*, xxiii, 229 f.

² xxiv, 146 ff.

³ xx. 207 f., 260-268; 271-276.

⁴ xxiii, 449-451; 489-496; xxiv, 61-69; 137-146; 216-223.

⁵ 1904, 180-187; 225-230; 272-276.

exploration have been published by Th. Macridy in the *Revue biblique*⁶, and by Clermont Ganneau in the *Recueil d'arch. orient.*⁷—E. Sellin has published a little work entitled *Tell Ta'annek*⁸ to which F. Hrozny has added an Appendix on the cuneiform texts of Ta'annek.—The same subject has been treated by Prof. A. H. Sayce in a review of the foregoing work, entitled "Discoveries in Palestine."⁹ It was to be expected that the reviewer should differ from Sellin in several particulars, *e. g.*, in the age of the texts, and the translation of the second tablet.—The *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* had explorations made in Abdeh, a report of which is given in the *Revue biblique*.¹⁰—Meanwhile, the *Palestine Exploration Fund* continued its excavations of Gezer and also its reports of the work accomplished. The seventh report covers the period from November, 16, 1903, to February 28, 1904; the eighth report deals with the work done between March 1 and May 31, 1904.¹¹ The most remarkable find is a cuneiform tablet picked up in a stratum belonging to the period of the early kings of Israel. The tablet has been the subject of special studies contributed to the reports of the *Palestine Exploration Fund* by T. G. Pinches, A. H. Sayce, and C. H. W. Johns.¹² Macalister's reports of the Gezer excavations have been supplemented by W. M. F. Petrie with a series of instructive remarks.¹³—A Hebrew seal has been found at Tell al-Moutasallim which has excited a great deal of interest on account of the inscription it bears. The name Jeroboam seems to form part of the legend without any doubt; but this does not remove all doubt as to its ownership. While some students are enthusiastic enough to assign it to Solomon's son,¹⁴ others more cautiously connect it with an officer of Jeroboam II.¹⁵

⁶ N. S. i, 390-403.

⁷ v, 373-378; cf. *Revue biblique*, N. S. i, 316.

⁸ Bericht über eine Ausgrabung in Palestina; Wien, 1904, Gerold; 4to, pp. 123.

⁹ *Expository Times*, xv, 555-558.

¹⁰ N. S. i, 403-424.

¹¹ xxxvi, 107-127; 194-228.

¹² xxxvi, 229-236; 236-237; 237-244.

¹³ Palest. Explor. Fund, xxxvi, 244-246.

¹⁴ *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, n. 25, 1572, 1904.

¹⁵ Palestine Exploration Fund, xxxvi, 287-291; *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, vii, 240; cf. Al-Masrik, 1904, 469-475.

3. New Testament Material.—Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt have been excavating for several years at Behnesa, the site of the ancient Oxyrhynchus, about 120 miles south of Cairo, in Egypt. The work is conducted in the service of the Egypt Exploration Fund. It is well remembered that among the countless papyri dug up in 1897 there was one which contained eight *Logia* or Sayings of Jesus. This find has been so frequently the subject of discussion that we need not say any more about it. But another series of five Sayings, preceded by an Introduction, was discovered by the two explorers in February, 1903. This writing, like the former of eight Sayings, belongs to the last half of the third century. But the two series do not belong to the same document. The first was contained in a papyrus book, with its pages cut and bound at the back; the second is written on a papyrus roll which had previously been used as a surveyor's record. The date of the writing is not the date of the origin of the Sayings; they appear to belong to the time between 100 and 140 A. D.

Though Grenfell and Hunt did not publish their find till 1904,¹⁶ it has been the subject of quite a number of articles. Professor Swete discussed it in the *Expository Times*,¹⁷ Heinrici in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*,¹⁸ an anonymous writer in the *Church Quarterly Review*,¹⁹ Professor Votaw in the *Biblical World*,²⁰ Mgr. Batiffol in the *Revue biblique*,²¹ and another writer in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*.²² We need not say that thus far no unanimity of opinion has been reached as to the main questions connected with the new Sayings; the nature, *e. g.*, of the collection to which they belong; the sources from which they were derived; their authenticity; and their relation to Christ's teaching coming down to us through other sources.

Another Oxyrhynchus fragment discovered and published by Grenfell and Hunt is part of an apocryphal gospel. The writing appears to belong to the first half of the third century; the age of

¹⁶ The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part IV; London, 1904, Egypt Exploration Fund. Again, New Sayings of Jesus, and Fragments of a Lost Gospel; New York, 1904, Oxford University Press.

¹⁷ August, 1904.

²⁰ October, 1904.

¹⁸ July 23, 1904.

²¹ October, 1904.

¹⁹ July, 1904.

²² April, 1905.

the gospel itself cannot as yet be determined. It exhibits resemblances to Matt. 6, Luke 12, to a fragment of the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and to a passage in the so-called second epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. The reader will find a brief notice of this fragment in an article contributed by Professor E. J. Goodspeed to the *Biblical World*.²³

It will be remembered that among the Oxyrhynchus fragments of 1897 there were discovered parts of the text of Matt. 1, and John 1 and 20. These writings were assigned to the third century so that they formed the oldest New Testament manuscripts. The text resembled that of Sinaiticus and Vaticanus respectively, so that it corroborated Westcott and Hort's text and theory. The recent Oxyrhynchus find contains even more valuable textual material. Practically one-third of the Epistle to the Hebrews has been recovered²⁴ on a roll originally used for an epitome of Livy. It happened probably in the first half of the fourth century that the roll was applied to a more sacred purpose. The text, written on the back of the roll, thus belongs to the age of the Vaticanus; in fact, it exhibits most affinity with its great contemporary and with the later Claromontanus. The reader will appreciate the value of the new find at its proper rate, if he calls to mind that the Vaticanus does not contain the latter parts of the text found on the Oxyrhynchus manuscript.

In this connection we must mention a discovery that belongs properly speaking to the Old Testament text. Among the recently recovered Oxyrhynchus treasures there was found a papyrus of the third century containing six fragments of the Greek text of Genesis in the version of the Septuagint. They include parts of Genesis 14, 15, 19, 20, 24, and 27. Since our great Uncials are mutilated in the early parts of Genesis, the newly discovered text is of the greatest value. In it we possess perhaps the oldest Biblical manuscript known.

II. History and Geography.—Though the Bible does not pretend to teach either history or geography as its primary object, it is so intimately connected with many historical and geographical questions that it necessarily shares in any new light thrown

²³ March, 1905.

²⁴ Heb. 2: 14—5: 5; 10: 8—11: 13; 11: 28—12: 17.

on them. It is for this reason that the following points will interest the Bible student.

1. **Professor Hommel.**—Professor Ivan von Müller edits a new "Guide to Classical Antiquity," and it is to this series that Professor Hommel has written his new work entitled "Outline of the Geography and the History of the Ancient East."²⁵ The work extends to 400 large and closely printed pages, but they have not been sufficient for the author to finish it. We need not say anything about the writer's learning and painstaking labor; all this is understood as a matter of course in a man of his character. What are then the author's peculiar, or at least emphatic, points of view? (1) Chaldea is the home of the Hebrew and his cradle. Ur of the Chaldees was the centre of a population which was Arabian or West-Semitic rather than Babylonian, and here was the first home of the traditions which we find in the earlier chapters of Genesis. The geographical and personal names as well as the stories connected with them point to this conclusion. (2) Midian is the nursery of the Israelite. As the earlier chapters of Genesis refer us to Chaldea, so the later Books of the Pentateuch refer us to Midian. The Minæan inscriptions of Midian furnish us with the counterparts of the Israelitish Levite as well as of the technical terms of the Mosaic cult. (3) Professor Hommel definitely throws over the critical analysis of the Pentateuch, with its P's and its Q's, with its Elohist and Yahvist. And how freely we breathe when this monstrous incubus has departed. The varying use of the divine names Elohim and Yahveh is explained on other principles. Hommel adopts Fr. von Hummelauer's view, that "the book" in which Samuel wrote "the manner of the kingdom" is our present Deut. 12-26: 16. The suggestion, he says, "hits the nail on the head." The statement in the Books of Samuel demands that the royal code should be found somewhere in the Old Testament, and most naturally as an appendix or an insertion added to the Pentateuch.

2. **Chronology.**—M. G. Kyle contributes to the *Bible Student* a study entitled "Reckless Chronology," in which he shows the groundlessness of W. Fl. Petrie's assumption as to the prehistoric

²⁵ Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients; München, 1904, Oskar Beck.

time preceding the Egyptian series of kings; *i. e.*, antedating 4782 B.C.²⁶—C. F. Lehmann considers the chronological results derivable from the inscription of Salmanassar I, found by the German Oriental Society;²⁷ he has published two papers on the subject.²⁸—E. F. Peiser too believes he has discovered a new date in Assyrian chronology; he places Tiglatpileser I in the time about 1180 B.C.²⁹—P. Rost writes about a new date for Salmanassar I. Historic synchronisms are said to assign him to about 1140 B.C., and to prove an error of about ten years in the old chronology.³⁰—G. Taaks has signalized himself by an enterprise that betrays either supreme earnestness or entire want of mental balance. In December, 1903, he sent, at his own expense, a little pamphlet to the Theological Faculties of the various Universities, in which he represents the Bible as a work of diabolic deceit. To the superstitious it is said to have given an insane man as a medium of revelation, and to have employed allegory as a literary decoy of falsehood.³¹ No wonder then that he finds in the difficulties of Biblical chronology another trace of falsification and deceit. The Deuteronomist is the rogue who is guilty of this class of falsehood; the chronology of the Priestly Codex should have opened the eyes of the public to this cruel game. The author has come to know the real state of the case, but entirely too late to remedy the evil.³²—F. E. Peiser takes the last-named writer and his monstrous elucubrations to task in an article entitled *Auf verlassenem Pfaden*.³³—An article signed by a Professor of Sacred Scripture treats of the Biblical chronology from the time of the tribal schism to the taking of Jerusalem; it appears in the *Science catholique*.³⁴

3. The Habiri.—Fr. Delattre has contributed to the *Revue des Questions Historiques*³⁵ a study entitled "The Pseudo-Hebrews

²⁶ N. S. i, 295-298.

²⁷ Cf. Mitt. d. D. Or. Ges., n. 21, March, 1904.

²⁸ Beitr. z. a. Gesch. iv, 111-115; 260 f.

²⁹ *Orient. Literaturzeitung*, vii, 149 f.

³⁰ *Orient. Literaturzeitung*, vii, 179-182.

³¹ Zwei Entdeckungen in der Bibel; Ülzen, 1903; Selbstverlag, pp. 15.

³² Alt. Chronologie mit einer Beilage; Ülzen, 1904; Selbstverlag, pp. 117.

³³ *Orient. Literaturzeitung*, vii, 245-250.

³⁴ Aug., 1904.

³⁵ lxxv, 353-382.

and the Tell-El-Amarna Letters." The writer grants that the name *Habiri* may be identical with Hebrews, as far as mere words go. He denies that there are any other proofs for the identity of the two. Other considerations rather go to prove that they are not identical. He maintains that the *Habiri* are nothing but South Palestinian troglodytes, and that Winckler is wrong in identifying them with the SA-GAS.—J. Halévy writes about the *Habiri* and their connection with the inscriptions of Ta'anek.³⁶ He upholds the identity of the *Habiri* with the Kossæans, being nothing but military stations of the latter against Egypt, and thus similar to the *Suti*, of whom even Fr. Delattre believes that they were mercenaries.—Prof. A. H. Sayce too writes of the *Habiri*, but in connection with the question whether the Hittites extended to southern Palestine. He answers this last question in the affirmative, and appeals to the testimony of Scripture, of the Tell-El-Amarna Letters, and of the lately discovered Jeroboam seal in proof of his opinion.³⁷

4. Israel.—J. Wellhausen has published a fifth edition of his *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*; the reader is sufficiently well acquainted with the general character of the work, so that further comment is needless.³⁸—J. P. Peters has written a work on "Early Hebrew History" with a view of portraying its historical background.³⁹—A similar ground has been covered by E. L. Thomas in a work entitled "The Early History of Israel." The author adds illustrations and maps.⁴⁰—C. R. Conder has investigated the occurrences of "Early Notices of Palestine" in the main remnants of ancient literature. He finds the earliest Egyptian occurrence in the history of Saneha, about 2300 B.C. It is certainly most interesting to study Conder's series of geographical and historical names in their earliest forms.⁴¹

III. Religion. The literature pertaining to the history of religion has become quite unwieldy. Let it suffice for the present to call

³⁶ *Revue sémitique*, xii, 246–258.

³⁷ *Expository Times*, xv, 280–284; 474.

³⁸ Berlin, 1904; Reimer, pp. 395.

³⁹ London, 1904; Williams, ix—308.

⁴⁰ London, 1904; Longmans, pp. 164.

⁴¹ Palestine Exploration Fund, xxxvi, 168–177.

the reader's attention to only a few of the more important works recently published on the subject.

1. *Babylon and Assyria*.—M. Jastrow continues his work entitled *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*. He has concluded the magic formulas, and has begun the texts of prayers and hymns. This work has been noticed before.

2. *The Semites*. Here must be noticed Professor Curtiss' investigations into the early Semitic religion as far as it has been kept in the popular traditions of to-day's national practices. If the professor's publications were as reliable as they are interesting, he would deserve our sincerest thanks. As they are, they are calculated to lead men astray. The writer acquired his information by means of an interpreter; he wrote under the stress of many peculiar religious assumptions; and he seems to have recorded all he heard without exercising any discretion.⁴²

3. *Persia*.—Fr. Lagrange writes about Parseeism, and publishes his writings in the *Revue Biblique*.⁴³ He places the origin of Parseeism after the seventh century B. C., and its reform about 150 B. C. He endeavors to arrive at the old form of Parseeism by considering its reformed system. All the traits that are allied to Judaism belong to the reform system, so that Judaism is really the original from which Parseeism has been copied. The true history of the inner development of Judaism will go far to strengthen this position of Fr. Lagrange.

⁴² *Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orients*; Leipzig, 1903, Hinrichs; pp. xxx—378. *Biblical World*, xxiii, 326–338. Cf. *Revue Biblique*, N. S. i, 259 ff.

⁴³ N. S. i, 27–55; 188–212.

Criticisms and Notes.

JESUIT EDUCATION: Its History and Principles viewed in the Light of Modern Educational Problems. By Robert Schwickerath, S.J. Second Edition. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1904. Pp. 687.

There is no end to the discussions and laying down of doctrines and methods touching the education of our youth ; and indeed there should not be. For, although the fundamental principles and broad outlines of all moral and intellectual training are given us in a sound philosophy whose efficiency is attested by its harmony with right reason, divine revelation, and an experience of centuries under varying conditions, there yet remains the ever changeable application to the growing development of individual temperament and character, under the progressive influences of racial, national, social, and religious life and environment.

Education in the ordinary acceptance of the term has a twofold scope, the moral and the intellectual. The moral scope may be said to have been ultimately defined for us by Christianity. The Divine Founder of the Church has unalterably fixed in the evangelical principles the lines that divide right and wrong and further the steps that lead unquestionably to a perfecting of the moral qualities according to the divine model. What is greatest and best in all Christian ages has attested the inherent value of the evangelical counsels, although that value has at times been obscured by what is usually termed *institutionalism*, a process of observance in which the letter of the Christian law is made to supplant the spirit.

The secondary scope of education is the intellectual, the training of the mind ; and although I have called it secondary, it is nevertheless capable of enhancing the vital worth of moral or religious education, so as to complete thereby the type of perfect manhood destined for the attainment of its end in God's service, and of absolute happiness.

Both the training of the heart to the attainment of the highest moral sense, and the training of the mind which illuminates the right moral sense to a more perfectly balanced and conscious as well as spontaneous observance of the Divine will, require certain *exercises* by which, as in military drill, the faculties are directed and habituated

to their proper use. When St. Ignatius founded his great educational Order he provided for both these fields of moral and intellectual training a set of rules and observances, perfected in part by his disciples, and known respectively as the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Ratio Studiorum*. The precepts and directions of these two sets of exercises are based upon the constitution, necessities, and ultimate purpose of human nature in the service of its Creator through the love of man for his neighbor; and the method is regulated by the effort of a gradual and harmonious development of all the higher faculties of man,—memory, imagination, intellect, and will. The process of development must be gradual and harmonious. This is effected by exercising the faculties upon certain phenomena and facts, as they present themselves, and the result is dependent upon the capacity of the faculties to take in the phenomena or facts, and to cover them or go out to them. Thus we have a double process of drawing out and putting in, both working simultaneously like the sunlight which draws moisture from and gives heat to the vegetation in the same act. It stands to reason that the “putting in” process is that which gives *quality* to the mind, and that if we put either too much or the wrong thing into it, we fail to draw out its proportionate activity by overloading or unbalancing the carrying capacity. Old things, out-of-the-way things, as well as untrue things are not as apt to stir the power of observing and comparing in a young mind, as are things present, things new and evidently true. Hence whatever the excellence of our educational principles and methods, if they are exercised upon objects that do not appeal to the young sense by their freshness and reality, the exercise is apt to frustrate the primary object of intellectual education, by failing to properly illuminate moral truth; and although the youth thus educated may be good, he is out of harmony with his environment and therefore incapable of exercising any direct influence upon his fellows.

It is this charge of ill-timed, antiquated exercises employed in their educational methods, which is made against the Jesuits and their instructors of to-day. Whatever the value of the principles and the methods of the *Ratio Studiorum* in the past and in the abstract, they fail, so it is argued, in an application which demands essentially new objects of illustration and experiment. Father Schwickerath contests this view by showing in an exhaustive and critical way that the *Ratio Studiorum* has never been employed or regarded by the Society as a system whose precepts are intended permanently to fix the programme

of studies ; that its primary object is to maintain intact the essentials of an educational process by which the faculties of the mind are gradually and harmoniously developed. He shows how as a matter of fact the theory of adaptation to actual conditions is marked throughout the history of the educational system of the Society of Jesus from the time of its foundation, when it undertook to gather up the threads of earlier scholasticism and to bring them into contact with the nobler aspirations of the Humanists, giving due attention alike to solid thought and classic form.

It is a very interesting story, this effort to draw up plans, to test, adjust, and revise the *Ratio Studiorum*, and to note the effects not only of its application at different periods and in different countries, but also of the interference with it during the seasons of suppression by outside elements. Not quite one-half of the volume is taken up with this history of the great educational code, and the difficulties it had to meet in its being carried out by the teachers of the Order.

The principal and really important part of the volume, however, is devoted to an exposition of the principles themselves which constitute the Jesuit method of education. We have already indicated what the vital and pervading element of the *Ratio Studiorum* is in itself. But one of its characteristics is what the author calls its *adaptability*. It is not without reason that the Jesuits as a body are credited with a prudent conservatism as the keynote of their public activity. That same conservatism is found in the *Ratio Studiorum*. Hence our author is able to examine with a certain impartiality arising from his very standpoint the modern systems in which "cramming," "premature specialization," "electivism," have become a more or less distinguishing feature. He contrasts the probable and indeed proved results of a classical training insisted on by the followers of the *Ratio* with the colorless culture imparted by the elective systems in which the Latin and Greek authors have a subordinate place ; he shows how the modern lecture system has brought a tendency to undervalue real teaching ; how the neglect of philosophy as a definite system of mental training has induced an atmosphere of vague speculation and exalted personal assertiveness. And then he points the way to a restoration of the ideal teaching with its essential phases of all-sided discipline and training to the use of freedom and of all that appeals to the youth's sense of right and goodness and beauty.

It would lead us too far to discuss here separate and detailed phases of the education which Father Schwickerath advocates. His

book needs to be not only read, but studied in order to understand the futility of the arguments advanced against the Jesuit system of education in its fundamental outlines and principles. No doubt here and there in Jesuit colleges there is to be found an excessive and one-sided insistence on traditional details, and this because of the inherent conservatism which we have already pointed out. But neither the Order nor the *Ratio Studiorum* is responsible for this kind of limitation to which all institutions are liable, and the more so in proportion to their general excellence. The average religious feels as though he or she were better than the religious of other orders or than seculars, not because there is really any conviction of personal superiority, but because the institute, the army and country, so to speak, to which the individual belongs, has a greater claim upon the admiration and gratitude of its members than any other of similar kind. Thus we do what those did and commanded who preceded us in a worthy capacity, as if their acts were not only an example, but an infallible guide never to be deviated from without guilt or dishonor. Our author shows that this is not the spirit of St. Ignatius, or of Aquaviva, or of the great leaders of the Order down to our own day. Let us have the *Ratio* in our education, and the adjustment to modern conditions may easily be accomplished without opposition or misunderstanding on the part of all true educators in or out of the Society.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION. Being the Foundations of Education in the related Natural and Mental Sciences. By Herman Harrell Horne, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy and Pedagogy in Dartmouth College. New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd. 1905. Pp. 295.

The business of the philosophy of education is rightly deemed by the present author to interpret the final and universal meaning of education, and consequently to evaluate the factors that condition and constitute educational processes.

The educable subject, the child, may be viewed as a living, a physical, a social, and an intelligent being, and under each of these four aspects comes within a distinct science, the result of whose inquiry should terminate at a definition touching just its special view of the corresponding aspect of education. Taking the latter term to signify in general "a superior adjustment to environment," biological science will express the organic or anatomical, while physiological science will look to the physical development; sociology will view the

intellectual, emotional, and volitional environment, and psychology will emphasize the specifically mental side of the subject. It remains for philosophy to close the series of formulæ with its interpretation and the definition: *education is the eternal process of superior adjustment of the physically and mentally developed, free, conscious, human being to God, as manifested in the intellectual, emotional, and volitional environment of man* (p. 285).

In selecting and arranging the empirical and more or less scientific data which underlie these ascending generalizations, the author of the book at hand manifests considerable research and skill. The plan of the work is most attractive, and not a little of the thought is at least suggestive and stimulating, if not particularly informative. On the other hand, both plan and matter leave much to be desired.

In the first place, the principal aspect of genuine education—the moral—is practically omitted. It is true, something is said about religion under the sociological aspect of education, where it is subsumed under "The Emotional Environment." But religion is thus reduced to mere feeling, and, deprived as it is both of its supernatural and intellectual elements, its educational efficiency ceases to be of any permanent value. The moral factor in education is even more summarily dismissed than is religion. Barely two pages are devoted to it under the head of "Volitional Environment," in connection with sociological education. And here too the conception of morality is enucleated of its essential element; for, with the author, "the moral law is self-legislated. The following of an alien law, which the will of the individual does not confirm, is not morality" (p. 141). He accepts here, as elsewhere, Kant's teaching on autonomous morality, a theory which, by making the individual reason the source of the moral law, deprives that law of its obligatory power and consequently of its efficacy as an educational principle.

In his references to the history of education, the author relies on such authorities as Compayré and Painter. Their influence is apparent in the sketch of physical education. It may well be that in mediæval and earlier systems muscular exercise—gymnastics, field sports, and the rest—was not so prominent a feature of the scholastic as it is of the modern curriculum, and indeed it may have been even frequently unduly neglected by students as well as by monks; but that it was left, as the author indicates, "to modern thought" to perceive and insist on its necessity, or that "John Locke . . . revives first among the moderns the ancient phrase of Juvenal 'First a sound body then [sic]

a sound mind,' '' is hardly consistent with truth. The author would do well to read *The Jesuit System of Education*, reviewed above, together with Brother Azarias' *Essays on Education*,—both for their positive information respecting Catholic systems of education and their critical estimates of Compayré and Painter.

However, the least satisfactory feature of the work lies just where one might and should, in view of the title, look for its strength,—namely, in its philosophy. The system embodied and applied is entitled "Idealistic Theism," although it might more accurately be called monism with an expressly idealistic and an implicitly materialistic strain,—a blending of Darwinian with Hegelian evolutionism.

The author indeed eschews "the error of pantheism [which] consists in saying 'All is God,' instead of, 'All is God's' " (page 270), but many of his expressions can hardly be distinguished from the first of these two formulæ. "God is the self-conscious unity of all reality," and the energy of the world "is the attentive aspect of the consciousness of God" (p. 269). "Matter is the objective thought of the infinite consciousness . . . ultimately a process of thought in the consciousness of God" (p. 270). Other similar expressions pregnant with Hegelianism abound, even though they jostle with phrases that may bear an objectively theistic interpretation.

On the whole, the impression is left on the reader's mind, that the author's conception of the ultimate "self-active reality," to which the "self-active man" must conform in order to complete the educational process, is not very clear; and the conviction grows on one that "the ultimate reality" demands a more accurate definition, if it is to stand as the final and universal interpretation of education. F. P. S.

SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY. By the Right Rev. Wm. Stang, D.D., Bishop of Fall River. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1905. Pp. 207.

No student of modern social and religious conditions can have any doubt as to the ultimate outcome of the present unrest in the masses, whose authority is said to shape and control human government. As the angry frown on the face of a ruler portends despotic use of regal weapons, unless some wise counsellor intervene with reasons for exercising mercy, so the general discontent of the laboring classes everywhere betokens revolution and destruction, unless the wisdom of the Church prevail by her influence upon the masses. The clergy are still the only class of leaders who can securely sway the large numbers of those

who profess the faith ; and it behoves the priest to exercise the salutary influence of well-informed direction upon those whose welfare is entrusted to him. We must know the character, the sources, the extent, and the remedies of Socialism in order to meet its seductive forces of evil. The false theories, accepted by the simple-minded because they are clothed in plausible illustration and make enticing promises of peace, prosperity, and independence, must be refuted by intelligent exposition of the actual features and destructive consequences of the teaching offered in the philosophy of a social democracy without religion or controlling authority.

Bishop Stang understands the people ; he has made studies of their conditions, and his sympathies are naturally with them. As a pastor of the flock he is prompted to find ways and means to warn his people of the dangers that surround them, of the wolves that threaten to invade the fold in the guise of Socialism, corrupting and destroying the very fundamentals of morality, effacing the line between right and wrong, between mine and thine. His book is a timely contribution to the literature of true social reform as distinguished from Socialism. He traces the sources of the actual discontent, defines the limits of public and private ownership, the right of Capital and of Labor, the benefits and dangers of Unions, the functions of authority to arbitrate.

But his analysis of the subject is not confined to the mere phenomena or the mechanical and material phases of industrial and social life. He turns the searchlight of religion upon the whole question, examines the results of tried experiments in the past, compares the guild system, the commercial relations and the feudal forms of peasant life in the ages of faith with the changed condition of things after the Reformation. Thus he shows experimentally the power of the true religion of Christ through the Church to control evil, to bring out the best in man individually and collectively, and to make him contented and prosperous. After these arguments we hardly need the authority of the great leaders of the Catholic social movement whose pictures the Bishop draws for us by way of illustrating his own words.

The last three chapters of the book are of special importance in connection with the reconstruction of the social fabric. The writer points out the functions of true education, the meaning of equality and liberty ; and finally draws for us the picture of a happy home,—the father, the housewife, and the children, each fulfilling their part in the work of realizing God's Kingdom even here on earth. There is a telling paragraph " for married people only " which deals briefly

but pertinently with the question of race suicide. The book is in line with Dr. Stang's previous volume on *Pastoral Theology* and will be wanted in every priest's library as a practical complement to the latter work.

HISTORY AND CRITICISM OF THE LABOR THEORY OF VALUE IN ENGLISH POLITICAL ECONOMY. By Albert C. Whitaker, Ph.D., sometime University Fellow in Economics, Columbia University; Instructor in Economics, Leland Stanford Junior University. (Vol. XIX, No. 2., "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law.") New York: The Columbia University Press; The Macmillan Company, Agents. London: P. S. King and Son. 1904. Pp. 194.

An important work, appealing primarily to the student of economics. He especially need not be reminded of the confusion begotten in his favorite study by the manifold divergent theories excogitated by economists in respect to the meanings and correspondent bases of the term *value*. Professor Whitaker prepares the way to a clarification of the concept by bringing together under one readily apprehensible and judiciously critical survey the views of English economists,—Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, McCulloch, James Mill, Torrens, Senior, John Stuart Mill, Cairnes, and Marshall. That he has succeeded in perfectly clarifying the term, one may hesitate to decide; but that he has facilitated the student's historical inquiry is unquestionable. It is of course very easy to assert off-hand that the exchange value of an article depends on its utility. The element of costliness, however, is an important element. Hence, as the author observes, most noteworthy mutations in exchange value have resulted from discoveries reducing the labor-cost of goods. And yet such reduction corresponds but roughly with the amount by which its pain-cost was reduced.

Moreover, such alterations of exchange value are affected sorely by alterations of the value-determining utility itself. Therefore, the author's conclusion is justified by experience, that utility has a much more direct and intimate relation to value than cost. Value may exist without cost, and cost may be expended without occasioning utility. On the other hand, value never exists without utility, and utility never exists without value. Cost affects value solely by influencing utility. Hence, the conclusion "that whenever any of the numerous and permanent forces are active, which interfere with the influence of cost, value follows the utility and not the cost" (p. 194), seems to be on the face of it sanely reasonable, as well as conformant with experience.

HISTORICAL CRITICISM AND THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Père J. M. Lagrange, O.P. Translated by Edward Myers, M.A., Priest of the Diocese of Westminster. Catholic Truth Society. 1905. Pp. 243.

The substance of this volume is made up of a series of lectures delivered at the *Institut Catholique* of Toulouse in 1902. When first published in France they provoked mingled manifestation of praise and blame. Those who approved had of course no reason to justify their sympathy beyond what the author himself had said; but those who disapproved were bound to give some reason for not accepting the conclusions of the eminent Dominican scholar who based his statements on sound principles of logic in the domain of generally admitted facts. Père Lagrange complains, with good cause, in his "author's note to the second impression," that his Catholic critics, such as M. Dessailly in France and Professor Vetter in Germany, failed to state clearly the grounds of their disagreement, contenting themselves with certain vague reservations or charging him, by an unwarranted interpretation of his words, with things he never said. Thus, when he speaks of "legends" as having a place in the Sacred Text, they tell us that he considers the Old Testament to contain mere myths, and this despite the fact that the experienced teacher of the Biblical School in Jerusalem took the precaution to state that "legendary primitive history has its place between the myth which is the story of things personified and deified, and real history." Now in such matters as are here discussed, terms have their accurate value, and words may not safely be juggled with as is the custom in personal controversy.

But if anything beyond the clear and objective mode of reasoning of Père Lagrange were needed to vindicate his orthodoxy against the insinuations of those who believe that new knowledge and views imply essentially a denial of the old truths, it would be the attitude which the author maintains toward M. Loisy. This attitude is manifest from a letter addressed by him to Mgr. Batiffol, and printed as an appendix to the lectures in the present volume. In this essay the writer states his conviction that the foundation chosen by M. Loisy is unsound and saps the very basis of Christian dogma, though he does not say anything that would, in the vulgar fashion of the critic who thinks himself licensed to abuse the erring, indicate the motives of M. Loisy to be insincere, nor does he deny him the learning to which the French abbé lays claim, or the boldness which makes him defend his conclusions at the risk of honor.

For the rest, the topics which Père Lagrange discusses in this

volume are confined to the Old Testament, the doctrinal development to which it bears witness as a religious history, its character as an inspired work, its relation to history in its wider sense, to science, and to dogma. He draws a strong line of demarcation between the field of the critic and the domain of Catholic dogma, and insists with unequivocal rigor upon the obligation laid on Catholic exegesis to respect the doctrinal definitions of the Church; and whilst he gives due emphasis to the necessity of respecting the traditions of the Fathers, he also points out, as Cornely and others have done, that the unanimous consent so often referred to by Catholic writers is not, in matters of exegesis, of very frequent occurrence.

His theory regarding the extent and character of inspiration is in line with the broader views of recent critical studies which give some weight, though not that exclusive weight often claimed by the Higher Criticism, to internal evidence; and he values the criteria of external evidence applied to historical writing generally, keeping of course in mind the dogmatic definition which makes God the Author of the Sacred Scriptures in all its parts. Altogether there are in our author a moderation of tone, a reverence for legitimate freedom of opinion, and a wide range of knowledge, although he speaks here in popular language and to the average intelligence rather than to the Scripture student. The points on which one is inclined to differ from him touch only the non-essential elements of the great topics of Biblical interpretation; and we ought to be disposed not only to admit the right of views, but to seek to understand them in a sympathetic way while yet recognizing or preferring others, provided always these views do not conflict with, or minimize, the assured truth of infallible doctrine on the part of our great living teacher, the Church of Christ. In connection with Père Lagrange's essays here presented, we deem it opportune to call attention to some lectures from other sources delivered at the same time in England and touching kindred topics.

CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By W. Sanday, D.D., and others. London: John Murray. 1902. Pp. vii—230.

Canon Henson, in a prefatory note, states the object of this publication to have been "to awaken public interest in Biblical Science," and to set out clearly "the broad principles on which Biblical criticism proceeds." The authors here brought together are all representative among Protestants, and indeed experts in their particular fields. Dr. Sanday treats of "The Criticism of the New Testament" generally; Dr. Kenyon, assistant keeper of MSS. at the British Museum, of "Manu-

scripts"; Mr. Burkitt, of "The Ancient Versions of the New Testament"; Professor Chase, of "The History of the Canon of the New Testament"; Mr. Headlam, of "The Dates of the New Testament Books"; and Dean Bernard, of "The Historical Value of the Acts."

Dr. Sanday's opening essay is among the best in the book. It is marked by the orderly arrangement, the fulness of detail, the apt references, the lucidity of expression, that one expects from the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford. He begins abruptly but acutely by dividing Criticism into its two branches of Lower and Higher: the one concerned with the smaller questions of text and words, the other dealing with the larger questions of date, authorship, sources, composition, character, and comparison of documents. Passing over the survey of the various MSS. which collated give the text of the New Testament as we know it, we come to the more important question of the critical value of its various books. English critics as well as German, the lecturer maintains, have an absolutely honest intention to look facts squarely in the face, although they refuse rightly to ignore the value of Christian tradition as a factor in arriving at the truth. Dr. Sanday parts company with Westcott on the Synoptic problem. He rejects *in toto* the theory that accounts for the common elements in the first three Gospels by an oral tradition. "Most scholars," he says, "are agreed in holding that [they] are really based on a common original which very nearly coincided with our present St. Mark." To this they add a second primitive document largely used by St. Matthew and St. Luke. Papias in the early part of the second century is brought forward in support of this "two document hypothesis," but the lecturer refrains from making more than a bare assertion to that effect. He attempts, not very successfully we think, to meet the objection as to the second document (the *Logia* or *Oracles*), that while "some sections of the common matter in St. Matthew and St. Luke are almost *verbatim* the same, others are widely different," by the further hypothesis of a *third* document peculiar to St. Luke. He adds that "average opinion" agrees with St. Irenæus in placing the date of the Synoptics between 60-80 A.D.

Similarly, as to the Fourth Gospel, moderns agree with "ancients" in holding that its object was to supplement the already existing three. That is the sum of Dr. Sanday's treatment of one of the thorniest points of Biblical criticism. We are surprised that it is so inadequate. There is not a word about the authorship, date, historical accuracy, of the Gospel.

His mention of the Acts need not detain us, since it forms the subject of a future lecture. The difference apparent between the earlier Pauline Epistles and the later ones, *e. g.*, the Ephesian, and the Pastoral epistles—a difference which is the *crux* of criticism—is minimized by the considerations,—(*a*) that there is never any real inconsistency ; (*b*) that the changes are natural under the circumstances of their composition, and (*c*) that St. Paul's was a genius of extraordinary versatility. He dismisses Professor Van Manen (who would admit *no* genuine Pauline literature) with the remark that he “ does not count.”

Dr. Sanday inclines to Harnack's view (ably worked out in the latter's *Zeitschrift für die Neutest. Wissenschaft*, i, pp. 16. ff., 1900) concerning the vexed question of the authorship of *Hebrews*,—that it is to be attributed to Aquila and Prisca or Priscilla. He admits, however, that the theory is pure guesswork,—as indeed is much else of the Higher Criticism. The rest of the New Testament is discussed shortly, but with little of importance left unsaid. We note *inter alia* a reference to Zahn's ingenious view (popularized in England by Dr. Bigg), that Silvanus acted as St. Peter's amanuensis, and thus became a living link between the two great Apostles, and a valuable quotation from Dr. Robertson's *Regnum Dei* (p. 107) as to the probability that the Apocalypse, in its final form, belonging to the reign of Nero, was based upon earlier materials written under Domitian.

The following lectures on “ Manuscripts ” and “ Ancient Versions of the New Testament ” will prove the most interesting part of the book to the ordinary reader. They give a very full account of the MSS., or Codices, ancient versions, patristic quotations, which comprise the authorities for the text of the New Testament. At the same time, the style is purposely simple and the language untechnical, so that there is not the least difficulty in following the learned writers. The description of the material of the earliest MSS.—the papyrus—is especially well done, showing one at a glance the reason for their scarcity. In Egypt, owing to the dampness of the climate below the Delta, the ancient books crumbled to pieces ; and in other places the papyrus was so brittle that only the scantiest remains have been preserved.

Other points of interest discussed are,—the texts which St. Jerome's revision was designed to supersede ; the date of the old Syriac Version (the source of the *Peshitta*), and its relation to Tatian's *Diatessaron* ; the different readings of St. Luke 2 : 14 in the Greek and Latin MSS. ; the pre-Vulgate form of the New Testament which

St. Patrick brought to Ireland, and the Sinai Palimpsest discovered as recently as 1893.

Dr. Chase prefaces his essay by an exhaustive analysis of the contents, a feature which might well have been imitated by the other writers. His subject is the History of the Canon of the New Testament. He first summarizes the characteristics of the history, as influenced by Christian worship, literary habit, translation, and controversy (especially in relation to Gnosticism in its numerous phases). Then, after a digression on the Muratorian Fragment, he draws from the evidence of Eusebius as to the distinction between "the acknowledged books" and "the disputed books" (*St. James, St. Jude, Second St. Peter*, and "the so-called Second and Third Epistles of John, whether they be the work of the Evangelist or it may be of some other John"), the deduction that these two groups correspond to two periods into which the history of the Canon may be divided,—the first up to A. D. 200 *circa*, the second from A. D. 200–400. During the earlier period, the "acknowledged Books" were recognized as authoritative, some later than others. The New Testament of St. Irenæus comprised the Gospels, the Acts, the Pauline Epistles,¹ several of the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. In Dr. Lightfoot's words: "The authority which [he] attributed to [those books] . . . falls short in no respect of the estimate of the Catholic Church in the fourth or the ninth or the nineteenth century."² The lecturer then traces fully the recognition of the Gospels in Hermas, Tatian, Justin Martyr, and Papias of Hierapolis (a sub-apostolic Father), and after a regrettably brief reference to the Acts (as referred to by St. Irenæus), the Muratorian Canon, St. Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian—and that as the handiwork of St. Luke—shows that the Pauline Epistles were recognized as authentic as early as the time of Marcion, not to speak of the still earlier witness (though less decisive) of SS. Polycarp and Ignatius.

In the second division of his subject, Dr. Chase gives the place of honor to the Epistle to the Hebrews. The line of cleavage as to its authority coincides with the boundary between East and West. Three generations of Alexandrian teachers—Pantæus, Clement, and Origen—in different degrees, recognize the Pauline authorship, or, at least,

¹ We note with interest that another of the lectures refers contemptuously to the "midsummer's madness" of the writer (Professor van Manen of Leyden) of the recent article in Dr. Cheyne's *Encycl. Biblica*, denying the authenticity of *all* the Pauline Epistles.

² *Essays on the work "Supernat. Religion,"* p. 261.

the Pauline *character* of the Epistle. Eusebius is inconsistent on the subject. The Syriac Vulgate (the *Peshitta*) simply styles it "the Epistle to the Hebrews," whereas in the lists of SS. Cyril of Jerusalem and Athanasius it is included among the writings of St. Paul.

The Western Church, on the other hand, "making apostolic authorship the criterion of canonicity, refuses to accept the Epistle to the Hebrews." Hippolytus, the Muratorian Fragment, Irenæus, Marcion, Tertullian, and Cyprian are cited in confirmation of this attitude. Of the other "disputed Books," the history of the Catholic Epistles is the most interesting. In the early Syriac Church no Catholic Epistle was accepted. The nucleus of the present collection consisted of I St. Peter and I St. John. To these Epistles that of St. James was added, probably in Syriac, for we find that these three Epistles formed the Canon of the Catholic Epistles in the Syriac version of the New Testament. They alone also were accepted in the sister Church of Antioch. The authority of the Epistle of St. James was never doubted in the East; it was otherwise in the West, where St. Cyprian is silent about it, and even the Church at Rome (to judge from the Canon of Muratori) ignores it, although traces of its language are found in St. Clement, in the *Didache*, and in the *Shepherd* of Hermas.

The first mention of the further collection of seven Epistles occurs in Eusebius.³ Its number would seem to be prompted by the reverence for seven as the symbol of perfection. It is thought that the place of origin of the collection was at Jerusalem.

Dr. Chase concludes his survey with the three observations,—(1) that the Canon of the New Testament was a gradual growth, not the creation of any formal enactment. Here he surely overlooks the various local Councils which drew up authoritative lists. We miss all reference to the celebrated Council of Laodicea, which, if it did nothing more, at least gave definite shape to the belief of Christians of the time, and so stereotyped the prevalent tradition. (2) That the various Books do not all stand on the same level of certainty and authority. But this is surely to do away with the idea of inspiration. If God be the real author, even the most insignificant Epistle, whose history is lost in a thick haze of obscurity, must be *authoritative*. (3) That the position of "those Apostolic writings which are the title-deeds of our Christian faith and life—the Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles of St. Paul, the two great Epistles of St. Peter and St. John"—have a "unique and sure position."

³ H. E., ii, 23-25.

We can only briefly notice the two remaining lectures on "The Dates of the New Testament Books" and "The Historical Value of the Acts," respectively. In the former, Mr. Headlam gives a succinct account of the latest conclusions of criticism which he more or less adopts as his "own belief," *e. g.*, in fixing the date of St. Matthew as "well back into the first century," and that of the Synoptic Gospels generally as between A.D. 60-80. He refuses to accept Harnack's theory that "John the Presbyter" was the author of the Johannine Gospel and ascribes it to the Apostle St. John writing at the end of the first century. On the other hand, he does not commit himself definitely as to the date of II Peter and Jude, books which he considers "the most doubtful writings" in the New Testament, and for whose date "there is no external testimony to compel us to put [it] before 150 A.D."

The concluding lecture by Dr. Bernard is a twenty-page dissertation on such questions arising from his subject—the *historical* value of the Acts—as miracles, St. Luke's tendency to connect his narrative with contemporary events in the Roman Empire, and to allude to local history and topography; his medical knowledge; his educated style. He takes St. Luke to be unquestionably the author of the "We" passages, and parts company with many German scholars in considering that the *unity* of the whole work excludes the hypothesis that "the author of the Acts in its present form has incorporated an authentic journey-record into his narrative, which, as a whole, was composed at a later date." But he considers that elsewhere—*e. g.*, up to Chap. 13, *passim*, and occasionally later on (as in Chap. 23: 26; 24: 10; 26: 2)—he made use of existing documents, much in the same way that the Synoptists compiled their Gospels.

The book, from what we have seen, may be summed up as an accurate presentation of the results of the Higher Criticism in its relation to the New Testament, written in a readable and yet scholarly form. That the authors have hardly succeeded in realizing Canon Henson's sanguine expectations of harmonizing the conclusions of the New Learning (to use his own phrase) with the "current teaching of the Church," is only what we might expect from the lengths to which they go in accepting the latest arguments made in Germany. And, if the reader is tempted to be disappointed at the number of unsupported statements and unsubstantial theorizing, he can at least congratulate himself that he has acquired a fairly complete knowledge of the conclusions and methods of the much-praised school of Biblical critics.

Amoenitates Pastorales.

Bishop Talbot tells of a sermon he preached in a Western settlement at which a local unbeliever had been persuaded to be present, much against his custom. He was afterwards asked how he liked the Bishop. "Pretty well," said he; "and I learned one new thing. I learned that Sodom and Gomorrah was places. I always thought they was husband and wife."

Rear-Admiral Charles S. Cotton, who has been entertained abroad with singular splendor and heartiness, sat one evening at a dinner-party beside the Bishop of Durham, a clergyman noted for his wit.

Near the bishop there was a millionaire manufacturer, a stout man, with a loud, coarse laugh, who ate and drank a good deal, and who cracked, every little while, a stupid joke.

One of this man's jokes was levelled at the brilliant Bishop of Durham, whom he did not know from Adam. It was enough for him that the bishop's garb was clerical. Here was a parson; here, therefore, a chance to poke a little fun at the parson's trade.

"I have three sons," he began in a loud tone, nudging his neighbor and winking toward the bishop, "three fine lads. They are in trade. I had always said that if I ever had a stupid son I'd make a parson of him."

The millionaire roared out his discordant laugh, and the Bishop of Durham said to him with a quiet smile:

"Your father thought differently from you, eh?"

According to a contemporary, a bishop who is widely known for his sympathetic and kindly nature, having occasion recently to call upon a widow on some church matter, and finding her deeply distressed at her loneliness, ventured, as he was quite entitled to do, to offer a few words of fatherly consolation.

"You must not," he said, "be cast down by your sorrow and lonely position. Remember the maxim, 'Man proposes, but '——'" "Ah, my lord," interrupted the lady, "if man only would."

“The wind bloweth, the water floweth, the farmer soweth, the subscriber oweth, and the Lord knoweth that we are in need of our dues. So come a-runnin’ ere we go a-gunnin’, for this thing of dunnin’ gives us the blues.”

The *Spectator* tells the following story of the late Queen Victoria. On her return from Northern Italy, the Bishop of Winchester and the Dean of Windsor were dining with her, when she remarked to the former: “You remember that before I started for Italy you urged me not to fail to visit the conventual church at Assisi. I bore this in mind, and was greatly impressed by all I saw there. I had one droll experience, too. For as I was being conducted through a very chilly corridor by one of the monks I said to him: ‘Don’t you often feel the draughts very trying, wearing the tonsure as you do?’ I received my answer, not in Italian, but in these words: ‘No, Madam; I can’t say that I suffer in that way at all. As you must be aware, we Irish are a rather hot-headed race.’ ”

“I can’t go down in dat water wid you, Br’er Williams,” said the convert; “I too ’fraid alligators.”

“Nonsense!” said Br’er Williams. “Didn’t it turn out all right wid Jonah after he was swallered by de whale?”

“Yes,” replied the convert, “but a Georgy alligator is mo’ tougher dan what a whale is, en got less conscience. After he swallows you he goes ter sleep en fergits all erbout you!”

“What’s the difference between a bishop and a monsignor?” a friend asked of a well-known archbishop.

“Well,” answered the distinguished prelate, after a moment’s reflection, “a monsignor is a sort of counterfeit bishop. The genuine bishop you may know by the ring.”

The same prelate is said to have obtained the title of monsignor for some of his counsellors. After the fact was made known to the recipients in a meeting of the consultors a visiting clergyman asked one of the lucky priests how the members of the council received the intelligence. “O,” said the witty pastor, “some of us smiled because we got the purple, the others frowned because they got the blues.”

An Eddyite while walking in the country came across a small boy, sitting under an apple-tree, doubled up with pain.

"My little man," he said, "what is the matter?"

"I ate some green apples," moaned the boy, "and O, how I ache!"

"You don't ache," answered the follower of Mrs. Eddy; "you only think so."

The boy looked up in astonishment at such a statement, and then replied in a most positive manner:

"That's all right; you may think so, but I've got inside information."

Literary Chat.

Father F. X. Reuss, C.S.S.R., has published a neat volume of La Fontaine's Fables translated into classic Latin verse (hexameter and pentameter). The work is a not unpleasant diversion from the graver and usually sacred themes to which the author more frequently devotes himself. (Phil. Cuggiani, Rome.)

Those who have hitherto complained of a lack of *Scriptural Manuals* written by Catholics, have their varied wants now well nigh satisfied, at least with regard to parts of the New Testament. The following three series from separate sources are in course of publication:—*Scriptural Manuals for Catholic Schools*, edited by Father Sydney Smith, S.J. (Burns & Oates); *St. Edmund's College Series of Scripture Handbooks* (Catholic Truth Society, London); and lastly, *Catholic Scripture Manuals* by Madame Cecilia (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London). The last mentioned is a most satisfying piece of work and promises to cover the riper student's ground. Thus far only the *Gospel according to St. Mark* has been issued of the last mentioned series, but other volumes are in preparation. (Benziger Brothers, agents.)

The three Helen Gould *prize essays* intended to set forth the relative merits of the Roman Catholic and Protestant English Bibles have been published. Dr. Melancthon Williams Jacobus, Dean of Hartford Theological Seminary, does the editing, and concludes that "the great difference between the versions is the presence in the Roman Catholic Bible of the Apocrypha," the collection of books rejected by Protestants as uncanonical. "Compared with this difference between the two versions all other differences are insignificant." That is a true view of the matter, although a great deal could be made—as was the case during the ferment of the so-called Reformation and down to our own days of Biblical criticism—of the differences in translation of certain passages and words as pivots of sectarian contention.

Nearly five hundred persons entered their names for the contest. Two hundred and sixty-five essays were submitted to the judges,—a few of these by Catholics. But the Committee failed in its efforts to secure at least two Roman Catholic judges, “notwithstanding the fact that prominent members of the American hierarchy joined in the friendly search for men whose talents and scholarship might fitly represent a world-wide communion.”

That is surely a sad plight in which the American Committee and friendly Hierarchy must have found themselves. The man who took the first prize lives, we believe, in Australia, and the two authors he searched to inform himself of the Catholic side of the contention were Cardinal Newman and Father Gigot, who lives right under the nose of the Committee in New York. Perhaps he was not the judge the friendly Committee wanted, but he must be capable and could have possibly helped them a little farther in their search.

Apologia pro Foedere Abstinentie; by the Rev. Dr. Edward McSweeney, who pleads for wider priestly interest in the Total Abstinence cause in America, which appeared as an article in these pages, has been published in pamphlet form by the “Priests’ Total Abstinence League.” The indefatigable zeal of the venerable president of the Society has succeeded in introducing the League in nearly all our greater clerical seminaries.

Franciscan literature is becoming a favorite source of reading and study at present. The London Truth Society has issued quite a number of books on the subject, among which is to be especially mentioned Father Paschal Robinson’s, *The Real St. Francis of Assisi*. It may not be generally known that this humble priest of St. Francis who dwells in America is a former assistant editor of the *North American Review* and after having entered the Seraphic Order went to Italy to make researches in the old libraries. He is at present engaged in the work of preparing editions of the early companions of St. Francis.

An exquisite second impression of the *Little Flowers of Saint Francis of Assisi*, with illustrations by Paul Woodroffe, has just been issued by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. It is based upon the translation made by the Franciscan Fathers at Upton (England) which has been carefully revised by Thomas Okey. The compiler of the *Fioretti* is unknown; the work dates probably from the middle of the fourteenth century.

A very needful reference book for English Catholics, but also a very instructive volume by reason of its suggestiveness of Christian philanthropic activity in its many phases as carried out in England and Scotland, is the *Handbook of Catholic Charitable and Social Works* (Catholic Truth Society, London). It covers 144 pages of brief references to the locality and character of Catholic organizations throughout the United Kingdom.

Books Received.

THEOLOGICAL AND ASCETICAL.

THE CHURCH OF GOD ON TRIAL before the Tribunal of Reason. By Edward J. Maginnis, of the Schuylkill County Bar, Penna. New York: The Christian Press Association Publishing Co. 1905. Pp. 248. Price, \$0.80 *net*.

THE LIGHT OF FAITH. A Defence, in brief, of Fundamental Christian Truths. By Frank McGloin, author of *Norodom, King Of Cambodia; The Conquest of Europe*, etc. St. Louis: B. Herder. 1905. Pp. 285. Price, \$1.00 *net*.

THE DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART. Intended specially for priests and candidates for the priesthood. By the Rev. H. Noldin, S.J. Authorized translation from the German. Revised by the Rev. W. H. Kent, O.S.C. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1905. Pp. 272. Price, \$1.25 *net*.

LA VRAIE RELIGION SELON PASCAL. Recherche de l'ordonnance purement logique de ses pensées relatives à la religion. Suivie d'une analyse du *Discours sur les Passions de l'Amour*. Par Sully Prudhomme, de l'Académie française. Paris: Félix Alcan. 1905. Pp. x—444. Prix, 7 francs 50 centimes.

THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. New Revised Translation, by Sir Francis R. Cruise. San Francisco, Cal.: Catholic Truth Society. 1905. Pp. viii—248. Price, \$0.25; by mail, \$0.30.

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